

Manifesto launch

Reeves to consult on PE tax crackdown

Starmer pledges to put 'wealth creation' at heart of his policy proposals

JIM PICKARD — MANCHESTER
GEORGE PARKER — LONDON

Labour will promise to consult on its controversial plan to impose higher taxes on private equity bosses, as leader Sir Keir Starmer today pledges to put "wealth creation" at the heart of his election manifesto.

Rachel Reeves, shadow chancellor, has previously called the "carried interest" tax loophole "absurd" and in 2021 said she hoped to increase taxes on

the private equity sector by £440mn. Reeves has told colleagues she will consult on the private equity crackdown — industry leaders are expected to try to water it down — and is confident from her talks with the sector that there will be "no exodus" from the UK.

At present, "carried interest" payments received by private equity executives are taxed at the 28 per cent capital gains tax rate. Some Labour insiders say a compromise rate between 28 per cent and 45 per cent could be found.

Starmer and Reeves will argue that higher taxes on private equity bosses will not cut across Labour's overarching pro-business message.

At his manifesto launch at an event in Manchester today, the Labour leader will claim his plan to "get Britain building again" — which includes planning and energy reforms — will stimulate economic growth after years of sluggish productivity.

The comments are intended to demonstrate how Starmer has reinvented Labour as centrist and pro-business, far from the radical leftwing party he inherited from former leader Jeremy Corbyn.

Starmer's allies are making a virtue of the fact that the Labour leader will "not

pull any big rabbits out of the hat" at the manifesto launch. "If you want entertainment, go to the cinema," said one.

One new policy that will appear in the manifesto is a commitment that a Labour government would create a new "defence industrial strategy", shadow defence secretary John Healey told the Financial Times.

However, most of the document will consist of existing policies, meaning no need for any big tax rises beyond those already announced.

By contrast, Conservative leader Rishi Sunak unveiled a package of new tax cuts and spending increases at his own manifesto launch on Tuesday, promising to fund these through a

welfare squeeze and a crackdown on tax avoidance.

Pat McFadden, Labour's campaign chair, said the party's unflashy manifesto launch was intended to contrast with Sunak's "desperate, unfunded spending commitments".

He said Labour would insist that new money for the NHS and schools would be accompanied by a demand for a change in the way they worked: "investment and reform must go hand in hand."

Starmer will emphasise Labour's "tough new spending rules" and highlight Labour's promise not to lift corporation tax, VAT, income tax or National Insurance.

Gambling Commission

Aide to PM investigated over election date wager

RAFE UDDIN AND GEORGE PARKER

An aide to Rishi Sunak is under investigation after he placed a £100 bet on a July election just days before his boss announced the date of the vote, a development that risks further unsettling the Conservative party's campaign.

Craig Williams, MP for Montgomeryshire and principal private secretary to the prime minister, has been placed under investigation by the Gambling Commission over the bet placed with bookmaker Ladbrokes.

In a statement yesterday, Williams said he thought it was "best to be totally transparent". He confirmed he had been contacted by the commission over the bet and said he would co-operate with the investigation.

"I put a flutter on the general election some weeks ago. This has resulted in some routine inquiries and I confirm I will fully co-operate with these," he said.

"I don't want it to be a distraction from the campaign. I should have thought through how it looks."

The bet, first reported by The Guardian, will hamper Sunak at a time when he is attempting to revive his party's election campaign as it trails the opposition Labour party by about 20 points in the polls.

Although Labour leader Sir Keir Starmer has insisted that he is not taking the election result for granted, defence secretary Grant Shapps said yesterday the Tories were trying to stop Labour winning by a landslide.

"You want to make sure that in this next government, whoever forms it, there's a proper system of accountability," Shapps told Times Radio.

"You don't want to have somebody receive a supermajority," he added, warning "it would be very bad news for people in this country" if Starmer's power was "unchecked".

His comments confirm a pivot in Tory strategy, first reported by the Financial Times, where Facebook and Instagram ads placed by the party started emphasising the risk of a big Labour majority.

The tactic partly reflects electoral reality and is partly an effort to stop soft Tory voters switching to Reform UK, thus increasing the likelihood of a Starmers landslide.

Asked yesterday if he was conceding defeat, Sunak said: "No absolutely not. What you saw yesterday is we've put a manifesto forward which has got a very clear set of tax cuts for the country, tax cuts at every stage of your life."

Starmers is expected to cut short MPs' summer holidays if he wins the election. Senior Labour figures said the party wanted to bring in legislation quickly if it won power, with Starmer's allies looking at delaying the Commons recess until the end of July or early August.

"We are hungry and can't wait until September to start," said a senior Labour official, while stressing that no final decisions had been taken. Starmer's office declined to comment.

The recess was scheduled to start on July 23, but Labour figures said MPs could be asked to work from July 29 to August 2. An earlier return after the summer holidays is also possible.

Labour's legislative priorities include the creation of GB Energy, a state-owned energy company, and strengthened worker rights.

Scotland. Campaigning

SNP's shoestring effort relies on activists

Police investigation into alleged embezzlement of funds has hit nationalist party's donations

SIMEON KERR — EDINBURGH

Tommy Sheppard, who is running for re-election in Edinburgh East and Musselburgh, is grateful for his hip replacement earlier this year.

On a bright morning, the 65-year-old Scottish National party candidate scurries up and down stairs in tired apartment blocks seeking out likely voters in Craignentiny, one of the most impoverished areas in Edinburgh.

The SNP, deprived of donations amid a police investigation into alleged embezzlement of party funds, is mounting a shoestring campaign that relies on its army of motivated activists to repel the deep-pocketed Labour juggernaut.

The SNP received no recordable donations in the first quarter and now depends on public funds and candidates' personal fundraising efforts.

Having received £9.5m in campaign donations in the first three months of this year, Labour has been spending big — from billboards on Glasgow motorways to early leafleting across constituencies. Up to June 8, it had spent about £76,000 on Facebook and Instagram advertising; the SNP has spent £1,830.

"It's fifty-fifty," said Sheppard, who is defending a majority of 11,796, of his chances against Labour's Chris Murray. "And it's like that in 20-25 seats across [Scotland's] central belt — it could be very bad or we could do very well."

SNP figures are privately concerned about polling that shows the SNP could be knocked back to about the six seats it held before the post-independence referendum surge of 2015. At the 2019 election, it won 48 seats. But others point to polls that show the SNP is still in the fight to remain the largest party north of the border, keeping alive its call for an independent Scotland.

An Ipsos poll yesterday has the SNP and Labour neck and neck at 36 per cent in Scotland. Voters are increasingly minded to vote tactically, the survey found, with this trend more pronounced among those intending to vote Labour and Conservative than the SNP.

For candidates such as Sheppard, getting the core vote out will prove vital to defend the SNP against the powerful



Snap chat:
Tommy Sheppard, SNP candidate for Edinburgh East, campaigning in Craignentiny
Jeremy Sutton-Hibbert/FT

pincer movement of Labour's broader UK revival and an electorate frustrated with the nationalists' 17-year tenure.

Sheppard's team has identified 21,000 in his constituency who have voted for the SNP, or could do so because of issues such as Brexit, a subject on which his party is more vocal in its opposition than Labour.

His activists have approached more than half of them so far, making face-to-face contact with a third. Leaflets go through the doors of absentees, inviting them to get in touch.

"Winning an election isn't about how much support you have, but how many supporters you can turn out," said the Northern Ireland-born former comedy club impresario, who has represented the constituency since 2015.

Most of those who answered the door to his teams of canvassers pledged their renewed support, he said, with many taking posters to put in their windows. But there was the occasional forceful "no", some who were undecided and others who expressed disenchantment with all politicians.

One of the undecideds, Stewart, is a natural supporter, but is focused on getting "the Tories out" and is disillusioned after the police investigation into the SNP. "I trusted them, but that has put the movement back 10 years," he said.

The music teacher welcomed new leader John Swinney's focus on child poverty. "I've had kids [in class] who have not eaten," he said. "I gave lunch money to one last week."

Sheppard said he has not detected a swing towards Labour on the doorstep, but acknowledged there were disgruntled SNP voters who wanted to "send a message" by sitting the election out "on the sofa".

"So it's quite worth fighting in the margins," he said, given that the contest could be decided by a couple of thousand votes.

Labour, recognising Scotland as an important pillar for a healthy Westminster majority, has been love bombing the country, sending Sir Keir Starmer and shadow cabinet ministers north. Scottish donors have been flocking to Labour's administration-in-waiting.

'Our strength is we can put more people on the streets. Labour can't match us — we make up for the lack of money with shoe leather'

"We are raising a lot of money from our trade union colleagues, membership and private donors," said Ian Murray, MP for the safe Labour seat of Edinburgh South. "I haven't really seen much of a footprint from the SNP because they've no message to give."

An SNP official said: "Labour are very much buying their reach on Facebook, where a large chunk of voters are."

The SNP is planning a mix of organic sharing and targeted advertising, banking on its wider reach thanks to its larger — if declining — membership of around 73,000. While Scottish Labour does not disclose its membership, estimates have been made of around 16,000.

Sheppard, who had been fundraising with Burns suppers and other ticketed events before the election was called, has more than the £17,300 that electoral rules say he can deploy on his campaign.

"Our strength is we can put more people on the streets," said Danny Aston, an SNP councillor. "Labour can't match us — we make up for the lack of money with shoe leather."

Additional reporting by Peter Andringa

Covid contracts

Man arrested by officers investigating PPE Medpro

ANNA GROSS — LONDON

A 46-year-old man has been arrested by officers investigating £200mn-worth of UK government contracts awarded to PPE Medpro during the Covid-19 pandemic.

The man, who has not been identified, was arrested yesterday at his home in Barnet, north London, and interviewed by National Crime Agency officers, the agency said.

PPE Medpro has been the focus of controversy over allegations that the personal protective equipment it supplied to the Department of Health and Social Care was not fit for purpose.

A spokesperson for the NCA said the arrest was based on suspicion of conspiracy to commit fraud and attempting to pervert the course of justice.

PPE Medpro is owned by a consortium led by Doug Barrowman, who is married to Conservative peer Baroness Michelle Mone. Last year, Mone admitted she stood to gain from profits of around £60mn PPE Medpro made from

its government contracts. She had lobbied ministers to give contracts to the company. PPE Medpro's bid to supply the government in 2020 was placed in a "high-priority lane" after lobbying from Mone, a lingerie entrepreneur who was ennobled by Lord David Cameron.

The health department sued PPE Medpro in 2022 for breach of contract, alleging that £122mn-worth of medical gowns supplied by the company were not packaged adequately. The group has denied the claims.

Mone in 2023 admitted lying to the press to cover up her involvement with the company in an interview with the BBC. Barrowman has publicly denied being an "investor" in PPE Medpro.

Mone and Barrowman have said that they were open about their ties to the company with government ministers.

The NCA opened a probe in May 2021 "into suspected criminal offences committed in the procurement of PPE contracts by PPE Medpro". PPE Medpro, Mone and Barrowman did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

VALENTINA ROMEI

Britain's rental market faces "growing challenges", with rising demand and low supply, according to a survey that points to more pain for tenants as political parties focus on home ownership in the election campaign.

The Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors said yesterday its monthly measure of tenant demand more than tripled to 35 in May from 10 in April. At the same time, new landlord instructions, which indicate landlords putting properties up for rent, were flat.

The professional body's survey tracks the difference between the percentage of surveyors registering rises and falls in rental demand and instruction. The growing gap between supply and demand meant "rental prices will continue to rise for the foreseeable future, albeit at a slower pace than before", Rics said.

"The UK's lettings market is facing growing challenges, and it will be interesting to see how the political parties address this."

Official data last month showed rental prices surged at an annual rate of 8.9 per cent in April, down from an all-time high of 9.2 per cent in the year to March.

The survey comes as the Conservative and Labour parties have set out measures to help people get on the property ladder if they win the general election.

The Tory party, trailing Labour by about 20 points in opinion polls, has vowed to abolish stamp duty for first-time buyers on homes worth less than £425,000. The main opposition has proposed a government mortgage guarantee scheme dubbed "freedom to buy".

Justin Young, Rics chief executive, said that while the main parties had "staked their claims as being the party of home ownership, for that to be the case greater attention must be paid to improving conditions for Generation Rent".

Rents are rising at a fast pace as a result of high demand, with many people avoiding purchasing a house because they are unable to afford mortgage repayments.

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NATIONAL

Cautious Starmer maintains focus on Labour's most winnable seats

Data shows leader pitching resources into constituencies where party needs a swing of less than 15 points

JONATHAN VINCENT — LONDON
RAFE UDIN — MIDDLESBROUGH

Labour has avoided heavy campaigning deep in Britain's Conservative heartlands in a sign of Sir Keir Starmer's caution, even as some polling suggests that his party could inflict a catastrophic defeat on the Tories.

The opposition party has focused most of its activists' energies, and portions of Starmer's own time, on "priority" campaigning events in 186 seats where Labour generally needs less than a 15-point swing to win.

Half of these seats are in the North and Midlands, including about 40 that made up the traditional Labour red wall lost to the Conservatives in 2019. A further 57 of the seats are spread throughout the rest of southern England, with another 26 in Scotland and 10 in Wales. The 186 seats are identified as critical by Labour on its campaign website.

Labour's consistent 20-point polling lead over the Conservatives means the party is expected to win back most of those seats at the July 4 general election, which would return it to power for the first time since 2010.

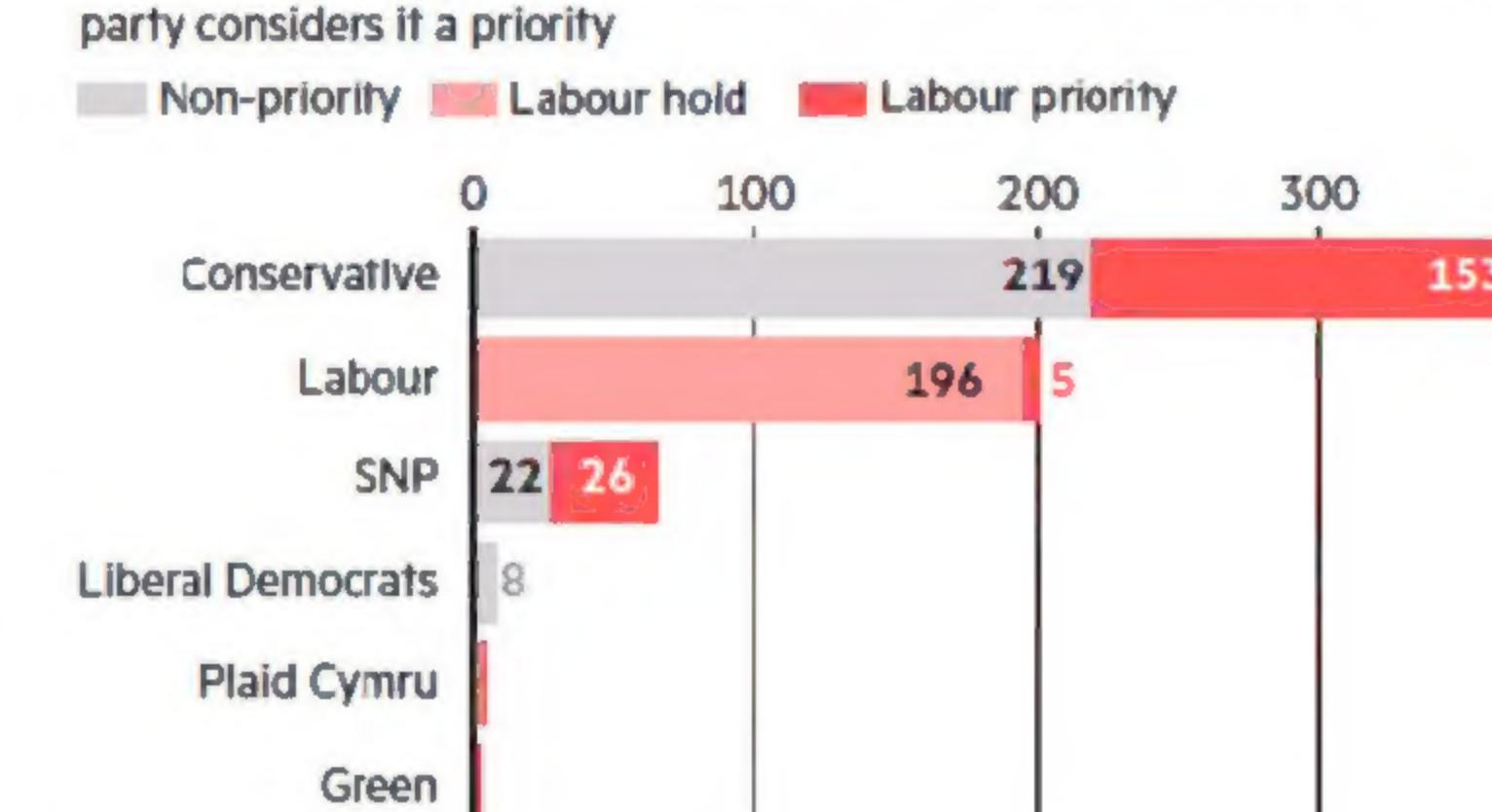
If Labour held on to its current seats while winning these priority seats, it would put the party on 382. That would deliver a governing majority of 114, smaller than Sir Tony Blair won in 1997.

Meanwhile, in the safest 150 Tory seats, Labour has held relatively few campaign events since May 22, when Prime Minister Rishi Sunak called the election.

Of the more than 12,000 Labour campaign events collected and analysed by

Labour aims to build a majority by holding the seats it won in 2019 and taking about 180 priority seats

Seats won by party at the 2019 election*, coloured by whether the Labour party considers it a priority



the Financial Times, just 12 per cent took place in those safest Tory seats, suggesting that Labour spent the first weeks of the campaign consolidating its vote share in marginals.

Labour's approach is despite some polling models suggesting its national poll lead could translate into the Tories holding fewer than 100 seats after the election, down from 365 in 2019.

Two large-scale polls by YouGov and Survation, known as multilevel regression and post-stratification (MRP) polls, conducted during the campaign have suggested Labour could gain a total of between 422 and 487 seats.

Starmer has yet to visit any of the 200 seats where the Conservatives held their largest majorities in 2019. He has visited 16 Tory-held seats with an average

majority of 18 per cent, according to an FT analysis of the Labour leader's travel. Labour officials said Starmer was campaigning in Tory heartlands and would stay focused on making data-led decisions about where to campaign.

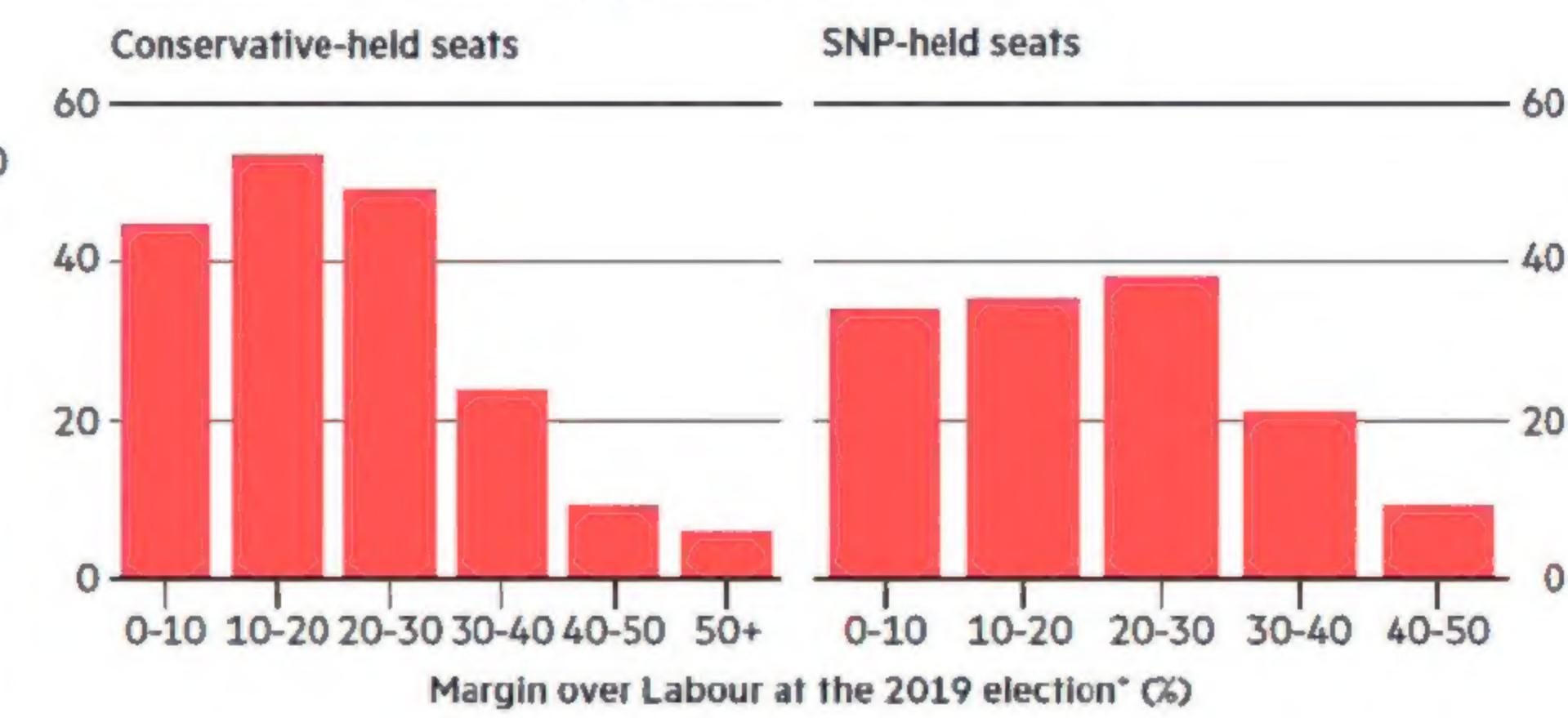
'A cautious approach is in keeping with how he's handled this election'

Tim Bale, professor of politics at Queen Mary University of London, said it was sensible for Starmer to focus on seats that would "secure the win" before trying later on in the campaign for a landslide.

"A cautious, stage-by-stage approach

Labour is campaigning hardest in seats it lost to the Conservatives by a margin of 10-20 points at the last election

Average number of Labour campaign events per seat, in ...



is wholly in keeping with the way he's handled his leadership — and this election — from day one," he added.

Many seats across the south of England have been skipped by Labour canvassers altogether, paving the way for the Liberal Democrats to move in as Tory support falls.

In Godalming and Ash, the Surrey constituency where Sir Ed Davey's Liberal Democrat party is trying to unseat chancellor Jeremy Hunt, Labour has yet to organise a single event.

The Tories also face the threat from Nigel Farage's Reform UK party on their right flank, regardless of Labour's campaigning.

Starmer has rarely strayed out of Conservative seats in recent weeks, but did visit the Green-held Brighton Pavilion

constituency and two SNP-held seats in Scotland.

While the majority of Labour-held seats have seen little defensive campaigning, there have been more events in areas with a high proportion of Muslim voters. The party has faced anger from some supporters for being too slow to call for a ceasefire in Gaza.

In Luton North, where around a third of the population is Muslim, Labour has held more than 50 campaign events since May 22, despite the party winning it with a 20-point margin in 2019.

Labour said: "We are working hard to deliver as many Labour MPs as possible in the general election and our campaigners are bringing our message of change to people across the country."

Robert Shrimpley Page 23

Squiggle spot

Art unveiled at London office building

"Squiggle" by NEON, an art installation at CityPoint in London, has been unveiled by building owner Brookfield Properties.

Designed as a public summer installation, the artwork is inspired by themes of circularity, community and sustainability and has been created to enhance the space around the City of London office building.

Constructed using lengths of PVC pipe, the artwork is arranged so that the public can sit, walk over or even lie on it.

Design practice NEON says the piece was "inspired by the non-linear reality of life". Brookfield says the artwork was created with the London Festival of Architecture's 2024 theme of "Reimagine" in mind.

The construction is designed to be recycled back into PVC pipes and melted aluminium.



Jeff Spicer/PA

Climate protest

Activist jailed for breaking bank windows

ATTRACTA MOONEY — LONDON

A woman has been jailed for 10 months for cracking windows at JPMorgan's office in London in protest over the bank's role in providing financing to the fossil fuel industry.

Amy Pritchard, 39, became the first person to be imprisoned for a campaign in which climate protesters targeted banks in London. She was given a one-year sentence, reduced to 10 months due to overcrowding, at the Inner London Crown Court yesterday.

Pritchard and four other women from climate activist group Extinction Rebellion were found guilty of criminal damage after a protest in September 2021 in which they applied stickers at the JPMorgan premises on Victoria Embankment that read "in case of climate emergency, break glass", and then cracked three windows.

The bank told the court that the damage cost £306,000. During the sentencing hearing, Pritchard and her co-defendants explained they had not meant to cause such costly damage and took their actions in the early morning to avoid the risk of injuring any staff.

The four other women were given suspended sentences and told to carry out unpaid work in their communities. All five have lodged appeals.

Giving her mitigating statement, a tearful Pritchard said climate change would erode "the foundations of our economies, livelihoods, food security, law and order, health and quality of life worldwide", adding that JPMorgan "more than any other bank are fuelling this crime against humanity".

JPMorgan is the largest financier of fossil fuels globally, according to the annual Banking on Chaos report produced by a coalition of non-profits.

Sentencing comes amid warnings of a legislative and a judicial clampdown against climate activism

While Judge Silas Reid acknowledged that Pritchard's views were genuinely held, he argued they were not a mitigating factor for her actions.

The jailing of Pritchard, from Liverpool, comes as lawyers and activists warn of both a legislative and a judicial clampdown against climate activism in the UK, including restrictions on protest.

Pritchard was also jailed last year by the same judge after being found in contempt of court for breaching rulings he made that she was not to mention the climate crisis in front of the jury, in a

separate case for taking part in a road-block in the City of London in October 2021.

In January, Michel Forst, the UN's special rapporteur on environmental defences, raised concerns that judges in the UK had "forbidden environmental defenders from explaining to the jury their motivation for participating in a given protest or from mentioning climate change at all".

The JPMorgan protest was one of several organised by Extinction Rebellion against finance companies it accused of bankrolling the fossil fuel industry.

Last year, a group of women who broke windows at Barclays' building in Canary Wharf as part of the same campaign were given suspended prison sentences, while nine women who took similar action at HSBC were acquitted.

A jury is currently deliberating in a separate trial of six medical professionals accused of causing damage to windows worth £200,000 at JPMorgan's building in Canary Wharf in July 2022 as part of a climate protest, the same week as the UK's hottest day on record.

Earlier this week, up to 20 Barclays bank branches were targeted by pro-Palestinian demonstrators who smashed windows and sprayed red paint on the buildings.

JPMorgan declined to comment.

Manifesto

Greens pledge to impose £50bn wealth tax

ANNA GROSS

The Green party has pledged to impose a dedicated wealth tax on the most well-off to invest in health, housing and a decarbonised economy, as it seeks to capture the imagination of disenchanted Labour voters.

The party said yesterday it would introduce a wealth tax of 1 per cent on people with assets above £10mn, and 2 per cent on those with assets of more than £1bn, as well as aligning the rates of capital gains tax with income tax rates.

It added that it would charge the basic 8 per cent rate of national insurance contributions on the upper earnings limit, up from 2 per cent today, which it estimated would affect only 5mn people.

These changes would raise between £50bn and £70bn a year in 2024 prices, the party said. It said it would raise up to £80bn from a carbon tax to be set initially at £120 per tonne of carbon emitted, while adding that it was "prepared to borrow to invest" further.

"Our manifesto is based on investing to mend broken Britain and offer real hope and real change," Carla Denyer, co-leader of the party, said at the manifesto launch in Brighton yesterday.

"At the heart of this would be a tax on the very richest, the top 1 per cent of people, requiring them to pay a bit more

into the pot," she said. "From the Tories and Labour, we've been hearing a race to the bottom on tax."

The party has sought to expand beyond its core policy focus of the environment and climate to become a foil to Labour, stealing leftwing voters who feel uninspired or unsatisfied with Sir Keir Starmer's position on issues ranging from the conflict in Gaza to taxation and public investment.

The Labour party ruled out imposing a dedicated wealth tax last year and has also said it has no plans to bring capital gains tax in line with income tax rates.

It has also said it will stick to tight fiscal rules on borrowing, including that debt must be falling as a share of GDP by the fifth year of the forecast; a policy also held by the Conservatives.

The Greens said they would invest £50bn in health and social care to "defend and restore the NHS", including a guarantee for an NHS dentist for everyone, and £29bn over the next five years to insulate homes.

They also set out plans to bring water companies, railways and five retail energy companies into public ownership, and to scrap university tuition fees. The party vowed to create 150,000 social homes a year by the end of the next parliament and invest £30bn over five years to insulate homes. It also said it would stop all new fossil fuel projects and cancel ones that had been licensed.

Economic output

Fresh blow for Sunak's campaign as growth stalls

DELPHINE STRAUSS

UK economic growth stalled in April in a blow to Prime Minister Rishi Sunak as he attempts to reboot a faltering election campaign.

According to data published by the Office for National Statistics yesterday, the zero growth figure for the month compared with expansion of 0.4 per cent in March. It also marked a sharp slowdown from growth of 0.6 per cent recorded for the first quarter, which ended last year's technical recession.

However, GDP was 0.7 per cent higher in the three months to April compared with the previous three-month period.

The latest monthly figure, which matched forecasts from economists polled by Reuters, came as the wettest April for more than a decade hit the services and construction sectors.

In his campaign appearances ahead of the election, Sunak has often pointed to Britain's first-quarter growth as a sign of the country's economic strength. The prime minister has cited remarks by the ONS chief economist that expansion during that period showed the economy was "going gangbusters". The statistics agency later clarified the phrase was not intended as a comment on the overall state of the economy.

The Conservatives remain about 20 percentage points behind the opposition Labour party in opinion polls.

Responding to the ONS data, the Conservative party said it showed there was "more to do, but the economy is turning a corner and inflation is back to normal". However, shadow chancellor Rachel Reeves said: "Rishi Sunak claims we've turned a corner, but the economy has stalled and there is no growth."

Sharon Graham, general secretary of Unite the union, said the figures had shown "once again... how far away we are from the kind of high economic growth that politicians keep promising over the next hill".

Paul Dales, chief UK economist at consultancy Capital Economics, said April's stagnation "doesn't mean the economic recovery has been extinguished, but it's hardly great news for the prime minister".

But he and other economists said output was still likely to grow over the second quarter as a whole, as strong wage growth, lower inflation and drier weather helped consumption recover.

This could "generate a bit of an economic tailwind for the next government", Dales said.

The figures showed that services output grew by a healthy 0.9 per cent over the three months to April, boosted by strength in the technology sector, scientific research and development and advertising. But the pace of growth slowed abruptly in April as wet weather stopped consumers spending in shops and restaurants. The weather also disrupted building sites, with construction output falling 1.4 per cent on the month.

Manufacturing production fell by 1.4 per cent between March and April, reflecting a fall in pharmaceutical manufacturing, which had risen sharply in a one-off spurt the previous month.

Sterling was unchanged against the dollar at \$1.274 after the data release.

Election

Macron urges rivals to fight 'extremist fever'

President tries to forge alliance to keep centrist movement in power

SARAH WHITE

Emmanuel Macron has launched an appeal for political rivals to rally behind his centrist party and fight what he called "extremist fever" gripping France at both ends of the political spectrum.

The French president, who triggered snap parliamentary elections after his centrist party lost heavily to Marine Le Pen's Rassemblement National in a vote for the European parliament on Sunday, justified his move that has sent shockwaves through financial markets.

"I do not want to give the keys of

power to the far right in 2027, so I fully accept having triggered a movement to provide clarification," Macron told a news conference yesterday. He also dismissed reports that he could resign before his term is up in 2027, saying he wanted "to nip that one in the bud".

"I'm not a defeatist," he said, brushing off questions about what would happen if a surging RN came close to an outright majority in parliament or even clinched one, opening a scenario in which France's next prime minister could hail from the far right. "I trust my countrymen and women."

The two-round vote, set to take place on June 30 and July 7, gives parties a tight window to campaign and forge electoral alliances. Macron has not had an outright parliamentary majority

since the previous general elections in 2022, which left his centrist alliance struggling to pass legislation under a constant threat of no-confidence motions in the fractured parliament.

The outcome of the snap elections

I do not want to give the keys of power to the far right in 2027

Emmanuel Macron

could upset the political order and send shockwaves across Europe if Le Pen and her protégé Jordan Bardella gain more ground. They would need just over three times as many lawmakers as they have now to secure 289 of the assembly's

577 seats. Early polls have shown an RN surge, though still short of an outright majority. Macron's strategy now partly rests on trying to spook voters tempted by the RN as he claimed their economic policies would impoverish France.

"It's simple – today we have unnatural alliances on both extremes that agree on nothing and are not capable of applying a political programme," he said, while appealing to moderate politicians to join his platform, saying he was open to compromise.

Rival forces have so far shunned Macron's overtures to form a common bloc. Presidential advisers said his offer applied not just to the election run-up but also to whatever result emerged, when more compromise to form parliamentary majorities might occur.

As well as lambasting the RN, Macron was equally scathing of the far-left La France Insoumise, which is part of another alliance taking shape – and of the conservative leader, Éric Ciotti, who on Tuesday called on his party to join forces with the RN.

"Since Sunday night the masks are falling," Macron said.

Many heavyweights in Ciotti's Les Républicains party pushed back against his planned alliance, which breaks decades of Gaullist tradition that refused any collaboration with the far right.

Macron also outlined some of his priorities yesterday, including doing more to help household budgets and offered to build "a new project" with politicians and people "who do not recognise themselves in the extremist fever".

Republicans

France's conservative leader ejected after call for Le Pen pact

BEN HALL – LONDON

The leader of France's mainstream conservatives was ejected from the party after enraging colleagues with his call for an electoral pact with the far-right Rassemblement National (RN).

Eric Ciotti was stripped of his membership of the centre-right Republicans (LR) by the party's executive committee yesterday.

Earlier in the day, the power struggle gripping LR took a farcical turn when Ciotti shut himself in party headquarters in what his opponents said was an attempt to thwart his removal. Ciotti said he had locked the Paris building for security reasons after earlier "threats received and disorder".

The party executive was due to hold an emergency meeting there yesterday afternoon to decide his fate. Many of its senior members were baying for Ciotti's dismissal after he called for an electoral alliance with RN led by Marine Le Pen and Jordan Bardella, ahead of snap elections on June 30. They met in a nearby building instead and voted unanimously to exclude him from the party.

Ciotti responded defiantly to the committee's vote to remove him, saying "I am and I remain the chair" on X.

LR politicians rounded on Ciotti for making the party a laughing stock.

"If we have to remove him physically, we will not hesitate to do so," said Geoffroy Didier, the party's deputy general secretary.

Aurélien Pradié, an LR MP, told reporters outside the venue: "There are French people who work like dogs, who every day hope to believe in democracy and they see this mad spectacle."

Vincent Jeanbrun, who resigned early yesterday as party spokesman, said Ciotti was using "dictatorial methods". Ciotti enraged senior LR figures when he unilaterally called for a deal with the RN, with many calling for him to be removed as leader forthwith.

Some described him as a "traitor" and "collaborator".

The turmoil in the centre-right party, which embodies the Gaullist tradition in French politics, was triggered by President Emmanuel Macron's dissolution of parliament on Sunday.

But the LR has been divided for years over whether to work more closely with Le Pen's party.

Ciotti said he had received thousands of messages of support from party members although it was unclear how many of LR's 57 MPs were willing to follow his lead.

The LR were "turning their back on the heritage of [ex-presidents] de Gaulle, Chirac and Sarkozy", Macron said yesterday.



Eric Ciotti, deposed as head of centre right Republicans

RN party. Leadership

Far-right TikTok king aims to take PM role

Shock poll decision puts Le Pen's young protégé in the political spotlight

LEILA ABBoud AND ADRIENNE KLASA
PARIS

Jordan Bardella may lack the kind of experience and credentials that French voters traditionally expect in their governing class, but he does have a chart-topping TikTok feed.

The 28-year-old has skilfully used his social media channels to expand the appeal of his far-right Rassemblement National party particularly among the young, propelling it to a crushing victory over Emmanuel Macron's centrists in EU elections.

Now potentially on the brink of power, after Macron's shock decision to dissolve parliament and call a snap election, Bardella is keen to project a sober image.

"We are ready to govern," he told RTL in an interview on Tuesday, dressed in his trademark slim, dark suit and tie. And what about voters who still fear the far-right's rise to power? "Times have changed," Bardella said.

Marine Le Pen, the RN's leader, who plucked Bardella from relative obscurity as a young party activist, has said he is the "natural candidate" to be prime minister if she were to be president.

That timetable may be accelerated by Macron's election gamble: if the RN wins big, Bardella could be in Matignon, the premier's office, after the July 7 vote and running the domestic affairs of the eurozone's second-largest economy.

With Le Pen, he forms a complementary duo fuelling the RN's ascendance. Bardella embodies the milder, more acceptable face of the new RN that Le Pen has spent more than a decade fashioning, but, unlike her, his age allows him to behave as if unencumbered by the party's racist and xenophobic past.

He also does not carry the baggage of the Le Pen name, which for some voters is still associated with the politics of her father, Jean-Marie Le Pen, who founded the party previously known as the Front National, was convicted of hate speech after calling the Holocaust "a detail of history".

The toxicity once associated with the senior Le Pen has faded in many voters'



On the rise:
Jordan Bardella has managed to turbocharge his popularity among young French voters
JC Millet / Hans Lucas via Reuters

minds, and the slick Bardella has played a big part in the daughter's push to normalise the image of the party.

An opinion poll by Harris Interactive published on Monday said the RN could capture the most seats in the lower house, far ahead of Macron's grouping, though short of a majority. If the RN managed to win 289 seats in the 577-strong assembly, Bardella would become prime minister, forcing Macron into a power-sharing government known as a "cohabitation".

Bardella has turbocharged his popularity by becoming the French political equivalent of the TikTok king. He has a strong following of 1.5mn on the social media platform popular among teenagers and young people. While below Macron's 4.5mn followers, the far-right leader eclipses other prominent politicians including Le Pen and Prime Minister Gabriel Attal – who has 297,000.

Bardella's videos range from statesmanlike addresses about the cost of living to rowdy campaign videos.

In a clip of a recent debate on France Inter radio during the European elec-

tion, Bardella speaks calmly about what he describes as uncontrolled immigration while his opponent Raphael Glucksmann shouts over him. "Those who advocate for mass immigration . . . are not the ones who have to live with it [because] they live in privileged areas," he states, singling out Glucksmann, who grew up in a family of well-known Paris intellectuals.

With each election, the RN's results have improved: the party led by Bardella in Sunday's European parliament election won twice as many votes as Macron's Renaissance and 9 per cent more than in 2019. In the presidential vote in 2022, Le Pen reached 41 per cent against Macron, up from 34 per cent in the same match-up in 2017.

The young politician has perfected the storytelling around his public persona. Although he and the RN are staunchly anti-immigration, he proclaims his family's Italian roots.

He speaks often of growing up in social housing with a single mother who struggled to provide for him in the poor, immigrant suburb of Saint-Denis, north

I owe her a large part of what I am today and we work very smoothly together
Jordan Bardella on Marine Le Pen

of Paris. The truth is slightly different: he did not grow up in poverty since his father ran his own business and sent him to private schools, according to French media.

In a French political class that prizes diplomas from École Normale Supérieure and Sciences Po, Bardella stands out for having dropped out of geography studies at the Sorbonne. He went into RN politics aged 17 and has not worked in a corporate setting or other profession.

Yet he is a gifted communicator, able to convey the RN's ideas to supporters who celebrate him like a pop star. His campaign rallies are boisterous affairs that attract young crowds with pumping music and beer on tap. The audience acclaims him with shouts of "Jordan, Jordan, Jordan!" and demand selfies at the end.

Public setbacks do not seem to chip away at his popularity. Pundits proclaimed Bardella to have lost in a recent TV debate against Attal, when the RN leader appeared short on detail and imprecise on his party's immigration plans. But the polls only went up in his favour in the following days.

Lately, he has sought to network with the business community, which has long been wary of the far right, and has made inroads with small company owners. There have been hints that his views on the economy are more liberal and free market than Le Pen, who has positioned herself as more of a big-state populist to win working-class voters.

Observers have predicted that Le Pen and Bardella will eventually turn on each other, especially as Bardella's popularity eclipses hers. Macron's entourage has subtly sought to drive a wedge between them by praising Bardella in off-the-record comments to the French press. Bardella will have ambitions for 2027 himself, they suggest.

So far the pair of RN leaders have been in lockstep. Bardella has a large portrait of him and Le Pen smiling together hanging in his office. He still uses the formal *vous* to address her.

In December, Bardella said there was "no rivalry between us for one simple reason: she alone created this duo. I owe her a large part of what I am today and we work very smoothly together. We would not grant others the spectacle of a division between us. Only those who don't know us think we would."

The LR were "turning their back on the heritage of [ex-presidents] de Gaulle, Chirac and Sarkozy", Macron said yesterday.

But while the Fed's preferred inflation gauge is the PCE figure, CPI data still has an impact on the central bank's approach to cutting rates.

Biden hailed yesterday's inflation data as "welcome progress on lowering inflation", adding that it was now "nearly two-thirds from its peak", with core inflation at its lowest level since April 2021.

The 3.3 per cent rise in the headline CPI compared with a Reuters survey that expected the rate to remain at 3.4 per cent.

Core CPI, which strips out changes for food and energy prices, hit 3.4 per cent, below expectations of 3.5 percent.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics data also showed month-on-month headline inflation was zero, while the core figure edged up just 0.2 per cent.

Biden is seeking to convince voters of his economic record in the run-up to the November election.

But the US president still lagged his Republican rival Donald Trump in terms of handling the economy in last week's FT-Michigan Ross poll of US voters, although he has narrowed the gap in recent months.

US economy

Fed officials signal just one interest rate cut before end of 2024

CLAIRE JONES – WASHINGTON
KATE DUGUID – NEW YORK

US Federal Reserve officials have signalled that they expect to cut interest rates just once this year, taking a hawkish stance on inflation as they hold borrowing costs at a 23-year high of 5.25–5.5 per cent.

Updated forecasts yesterday showed the Fed's median rate-setter anticipated making one quarter-point cut this year, surprising traders who had priced in two reductions prior to the report.

Officials' predictions marked a significant change from March, when Federal Open Market Committee members indicated three cuts this year – and show they remain concerned about inflation that has remained above the Fed's 2 per cent target.

The prospect of just one cut before the end of the year will be a blow to President Joe Biden, who has put the economy and efforts to slow inflation at the centre of his re-election pitch.

The FOMC members yesterday said there had "been modest further progress" towards their 2 per cent inflation goal – a more confident assertion

than at their last policy vote in May. But four members of the committee said they expected to make no cuts, while seven said they wanted to make just one quarter-point reduction. Eight of the 19 members backed two cuts.

The median forecast for the benchmark federal funds rate was 5.1 per cent, implying just over one quarter-point cut.

Stocks slightly trimmed their gains and Treasury yields rose off their session lows following the Fed's announcement, in a minor reversal of the robust market moves earlier in the day, as traders revised bets on rate cuts this year.

Two interest rate reductions in 2024 were no longer fully priced in by the futures market, with the sole cut not priced in until November.

Traders lowered expectations of a cut in September.

The hawkish signal from the Fed came despite the release, just hours before the meeting, of cooler-than-forecast consumer price index data for May.

Fed officials' latest signal on interest rates also came alongside the central bank's new forecasts for growth, which show the US economy expanding by 2.1



The Fed took a hawkish stance on inflation as it held interest rates

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Abducted Ukrainian children put up for adoption by Russia

FT locates missing youngsters as Moscow is accused of crimes against humanity

ALISON KILLING — LONDON
CHRISTOPHER MILLER — KYIV

Ukrainian children who were abducted and taken to Russia early in the Kremlin's 2022 invasion have been put up for adoption by authorities, in one case under a false Russian identity, a Financial Times investigation has found.

Using image recognition tools and public records, as well as interviews with Ukrainian officials and the children's relatives, the FT identified and located four Ukrainian children on the Russian government-linked adoption website usynovite.ru.

The findings add to the mounting body of evidence that the International Criminal Court, Ukrainian government officials and legal experts say point to alleged war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by Russia.

One child is shown with a new Russian name and age that differs from their Ukrainian-issued papers. Another is shown using a Russian version of their Ukrainian name. There is no mention of the Ukrainian background of any of the children.

The children were abducted from state care homes and separated from their guardians and relatives in towns across the southern and eastern regions of Ukraine that fell under the control of Russia's invading army in 2022. They range in age from eight to 15.

Those traced and whose identities were confirmed with their families by the Ukrainian authorities have ended up in the Tula region near Moscow and in the Orenburg region close to the Kazakh border. One of the children was taken to occupied Crimea.

Seventeen further matches identified by the FT on the adoption website were confirmed as Ukrainian in a recent New York Times investigation, all of them from a children's home in Kherson.

The ICC has issued arrest warrants for Russia's President Vladimir Putin and Commissioner for Children's Rights Maria Lvova-Belova, saying they bear criminal responsibility for the war crime of unlawful deportation of the children.

The Kremlin did not respond to requests for comment about the findings. It has objected to the warrants, denied abducting children and tried to justify its actions by claiming it was done for their protection, despite an abundance of evidence to the contrary.

Putin has signed decrees enabling fast-track Russian citizenship for Ukrainian children taken to Russia.

Ukrainian authorities estimate that nearly 20,000 children have been forcibly taken from occupied territories to Russia since the February 2022 invasion. Many thousands are still missing.

The parents and relatives of the four children found by the FT declined to speak in detail, citing concerns that Moscow would thwart any return home. But other families whose children have been taken to Russia and returned to Ukraine recounted harrowing experiences during their time in the country. Moscow has allowed some to return to Ukraine if their relatives or guardians come to Russia to collect them.



Alina Kovaleva, who returned after being taken to Russia, with her mother Svitlana Popova — Dominika Zarzycka/SOPA Images

They described the children being coerced to watch and recite Kremlin propaganda, being held against their will, not being allowed to contact relatives and being forced to take Russian identities. Many described verbal and physical abuse by Russian children and some caregivers.

"I was heartbroken," said Svitlana Popova, mother of 15-year-old Alina Kovaleva, who was abducted by a group

They had a genocide policy. They committed a crime, they kidnapped children in large quantities'

of Russian soldiers in the occupied Kherson region.

Her daughter's captors "had a new birth certificate forged to say that Alina was born in Russia", she said in Kyiv after returning with her daughter. "And adoption papers. [They] were going to make my daughter their own."

Wayne Jordash, president of Global Rights Compliance, an international humanitarian law firm, said forcibly transferring or deporting children were war crimes.

"However, when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack on a

civilian population as Russia's attack on Ukraine undoubtedly is, they are also crimes against humanity," he said. "Changing [children's] identity and putting them up for adoption only confirms the necessary criminal intent."

The FT confirmed the children's identities with the help of the Ukrainian Child Rights Protection Centre (CRPC), a state body. The centre is awaiting further confirmation on two more children located by the FT who they strongly believe are Ukrainian.

The guardians and Ukraine's authorities had been previously unaware of the children's whereabouts.

The FT identified those kidnapped by comparing photographs from an official database of missing Ukrainian children with public profiles of children up for adoption in Russia using an image recognition tool. Reporters reviewed potential matches to select those likely to be a true match. The false names and ages the children had been given meant that it would have been challenging to find them in other ways.

High probability matches were shared with the CRPC, which contacted the children's relatives and guardians to confirm each missing Ukrainian child.

Dmytro Lubinets, the Ukrainian parliament commissioner for human rights whose office oversees the CRPC and

helped the FT, called Russia's removal of Ukrainian children "premeditated".

Ukrainian officials shared with the FT Russian government documents that show the Kremlin had devised plans ahead of its invasion to forcibly deport Ukrainian children to Russia as part of a so-called "filtration" process.

"They had a well planned genocide policy towards us," said Daria Heraherchuk, an adviser and Ukraine's presidential commissioner for children's rights. "They committed a crime, they kidnapped children in large quantities."

It is a struggle for Ukraine's government, the country's charities and the children's relatives and guardians to return the youngsters. It often takes months to track them down and weeks to plan how to reach them.

The journey is roughly a 4,000-mile round trip from Ukraine through the EU and then into Russia, where relatives and guardians face hours-long interrogations by the FSB security service, and then back.

As of June 11, Ukraine has managed to return at least 389 children from Russia, according to the president's office. The office of Ukraine's human rights commissioner and CRPC are trying to confirm the identities of dozens more children taken to Russia flagged by the FT.

Additional reporting by Anastasia Stognei

European Commission. Presidency

Wrangling over top EU roles begins at G7 summit

Von der Leyen to hold talks on sidelines with leaders of France, Germany and Italy

HENRY FOY AND ANDY BOUNDS
BRUSSELS

The wrangling over the EU's top jobs begins in Bari this week with the leaders of France, Germany and Italy meeting Ursula von der Leyen for the first time since her centre-right party won the European parliament elections.

A summit of G7 leaders hosted by Italian Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni will feature private talks with the European Commission president as she seeks five more years as head of the EU executive.

The national leaders do not just represent the EU's three biggest economies. German Chancellor Olaf Scholz is the lead negotiator for the Socialists and Democrats, French President Emmanuel Macron the figurehead for the liberal Renew group, and Meloni presides over the right-wing European Conservatives and Reformists, the parties that came second, third and fourth.

Manfred Weber, leader of von der Leyen's European People's party, said "the principle that the winner of an election has the right to present govern-

ment" was central to any democratic system. "When they are together, I invite Scholz and Macron to be clear on respecting the outcome of the election."

The bloc's leaders in coming weeks will also need to agree on two other top jobs as part of a package deal with von der Leyen at the centre. The Socialists are eyeing the European Council presidency, with former Portuguese PM António Costa the frontrunner. The foreign policy job is likely to go to a liberal politician, with Belgium's outgoing prime minister Alexander De Croo or Estonia's Prime Minister Kaja Kallas touted as possible options.

Von der Leyen will also require at least two of their parties to join with her EPP in a vote in the European parliament next month.

EU officials preparing for the summit sought to play down the importance of any job deals struck there. "Agreements made in G20 or G7 meetings create more tension than provide solutions because it is a limited number [of participants]," said one.

In 2019, EU leaders at the G20 summit in Osaka, Japan, agreed on a configuration of top jobs based on a Social Democrat at the helm of the commission. The deal fell apart upon returning to Brussels. But officials said it was important

called a snap election. Scholz was forced to reject demands to do the same.

Yet Meloni's party triumphed, enhancing her claim for increased influence over the EU's direction, bolstered by a surge in support for wider European far-right and nationalist parties.

Von der Leyen's team is nervous about the French president's major electoral gamble. "We were worried the French result [in the EU vote] would force him to take drastic action, either at home or in the EU space," said a person close to her campaign. "The [French] election creates a lot of uncertainty."



Ursula von der Leyen will be meeting leaders after her party's victory in the European elections

"It certainly does not diminish the power of Macron's hand," said an EU official of the talks over von der Leyen's second term. The French election "means he could go in either direction".

Macron has not publicly backed von der Leyen but a French official said: "The EPP won the elections. They have the right to nominate the president of the commission."

The likelihood of a von der Leyen coalition of Renew, the Socialists and the EPP has increased."

Scholz's coalition government agreement specifies that he should support von der Leyen for the presidency or, if she fails to get a second term, propose someone from his Green party coalition partners as the country's commissioner.

The chancellor has already warned von der Leyen against seeking a deal with Meloni, and so have Macron's lawmakers. The Italian PM has yet to publicly endorse her for a second term.

After the Bari summit, where discussions will focus on a US-led plan to issue a \$50bn loan to Ukraine backed by revenues generated by Russian sovereign assets held in G7 members and allied countries, von der Leyen will lobby the rest of the EU.

Additional reporting by Paola Tamia and Barney Jopson

Financial penalties

US extends bank sanctions to target Kremlin war economy

CHRIS COOK — LONDON
MAX SEDDON — RIGA

The US Treasury has rolled out a big expansion of its secondary sanctions programme on Russia, and will now treat any foreign financial institution transacting with a sanctioned Russian entity as though it is working directly with the Kremlin's military-industrial base.

A new set of measures will widen a White House executive order that in December gave the Treasury the authority to apply secondary sanctions on foreign financial institutions if they were found to have acted for, or on behalf of, any of about 1,200 entities deemed by the US government to be part of Russia's defence sector.

After this week's change, announced yesterday, that number will rise to more than 4,500 and will encompass almost all Russian entities that have already been sanctioned, even if this was for reasons other than direct support of the war in Ukraine. They include banks such as Sberbank and VTB, the country's largest lenders.

Janet Yellen, US treasury secretary, said: "We are increasing the risk for financial institutions dealing with Russia's war economy and eliminating paths for evasion, and diminishing Russia's ability to benefit from access to foreign technology, equipment, software, and IT services. Every day, Russia con-

tinues to mortgage its future to sustain its unjust war of choice against Ukraine."

US officials believe that, as a result of December's executive order, banks in third countries have become reluctant to deal with high-risk Russian customers. The flow of war-related imports into Russia declined at the start of 2024 as financing cross-border trade in those goods became riskier, even for banks with no links to the US.

"Secondary sanctions are intended to expand the US's ability to pursue circumvention by actors who do not have any legal nexus with the US. It means the US can, in effect, enforce its sanctions on people who aren't otherwise subject to US law," said Emily Kilcrease, a sanctions expert at the Center for a New American Security think-tank.

Russian President Vladimir Putin appointed statist technocrat Andrei Beloussov defence minister last month in a surprise shake-up of his security bosses. The Kremlin has said the reshuffle was aimed at making Russia's record Rbs10.8tn (\$120bn) defence spending more efficient and less vulnerable to western sanctions.

By broadening the scope of secondary sanctions, the US will increase the risk for financial institutions in other countries doing business with Russia — particularly China, which has drawn closer to Moscow since the Ukraine invasion.

Additional reporting by James Politi

Conflict risks

Aon's \$350mn insurance plan a platform for Kyiv's recovery

IAN SMITH — LONDON
ISOBEL KOSHIW — KYIV

Insurance broker Aon has created a \$350mn scheme with a US development agency to cover Ukrainian businesses against war risks, in the latest public-private effort to bolster the country's wartime economy and pave the way for reconstruction.

War risk insurance covers businesses against losses incurred as a result of conflict. After paying out claims for bombed-out buildings and other damages from Russia's full-scale invasion more than two years ago, foreign insurers and reinsurers pulled back from offering such cover in Ukraine.

It is a struggle for Ukraine's government, the country's charities and the children's relatives and guardians to return the youngsters. It often takes months to track them down and weeks to plan how to reach them.

The journey is roughly a 4,000-mile round trip from Ukraine through the EU and then into Russia, where relatives and guardians face hours-long interrogations by the FSB security service, and then back.

As of June 11, Ukraine has managed to return at least 389 children from Russia, according to the president's office. The office of Ukraine's human rights commissioner and CRPC are trying to confirm the identities of dozens more children taken to Russia flagged by the FT.

Additional reporting by Anastasia Stognei

conference. Kyiv has used the event to appeal for billions of dollars of aid for its stricken energy sector.

The scheme comes after Ukraine last year agreed a public-private insurance initiative for shipping, providing war risk policies to vessels transporting commodities from its Black Sea ports.

Scott Nathan, chief executive of the US International Development Finance Corporation, which has worked with Aon on the scheme, said it was a "critical moment" to build investor confidence in Ukraine. Insurers typically exclude war-related claims from most policies, forcing businesses to take out separate "war risk" or "political violence" policies to have some protection.

The first part of the scheme is a \$50mn reinsurance facility, in which DFC will act as the reinsurer to local Ukrainian insurers to allow them to offer war risk policies to businesses. One insurer taking part in this scheme is ARX, a Ukrainian subsidiary of Canadian insurer Fairfax Financial.

There is then a separate \$300mn of war risk cover specifically for planned projects in the healthcare and agriculture sectors, according to Aon.

Penny Pritzker, the US special representative for Ukraine's economic recovery, said a "robust insurance market was essential to attracting investment in the country". Taras Kachka, Ukraine's deputy economy minister, said it was an "extremely important" step for the country's private sector.

Middle East

Hamas demands changes to Biden's ceasefire proposal

MEHUL SRIVASTAVA — LONDON
JAMES SHOTTER — JERUSALEM

Hamas has demanded changes to a ceasefire proposal backed by the US and the UN Security Council, complicating talks on a plan to free Israeli hostages in a first step towards winding down the war in Gaza.

The Hamas amendments to the four-and-a-half page proposal, first unveiled by US President Joe Biden, remain unclear. But the militant group said its response to mediators Qatar and Egypt downed "readiness to deal positively".

At least some of the gaps between Israel and Hamas were "bridgeable," US secretary of state Antony Blinken said in Qatar, the latest stop in his regional shuttle diplomacy, but others, he warned, "were not".

"If one side continues to change its demands, including [on] things that it already accepted, then you have to question whether they're proceeding in good faith or not," said Blinken. "We're determined to try to bridge the gaps".

His analysis was echoed by Jake Sullivan, US national security adviser, who said some of Hamas' changes to a proposed peace plan in Gaza differed "sub-

stantively" from the one backed by the UN security council this week. "Our view is that the time for haggling is over — it's time for a ceasefire," he said.

Both Blinken and Qatari Prime Minister Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman al-Thani, who has worked as a mediator alongside Egypt, declined to discuss what Hamas's exact demands were. The Israeli government has already denounced Hamas' negotiating tactics as a wholesale rejection of the proposal. Sheikh Mohammed described it as an inevitable part of a long, difficult negotiation.

"There is a space . . . after all this negotiation to reach an agreement," he said, saying the latest exchanges were "not a new dynamic for the negotiation".

He added: "There is no absolute response, yes or no. It's frustrating, but at times, we have seen behaviour from both parties on different occasions [that was] counter-productive," he said.

Blinken has repeatedly called for Hamas to accept the proposal, which he said in Tel Aviv had the backing of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. The plan sets out a three-step approach to ending the conflict.

Additional reporting by James Politi in Bari

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Truss territory UK ex-premier cited as France is warned a Le Pen win would risk pushing country into debt crisis zone PAGE 13

Companies & Markets

Boss of PwC's India business wants seat at firm's top table

- Krishan cites nation's growing clout
- Approval seen as 'highly unlikely'

SIMON FOY — LONDON
STEPHEN FOLEY — NEW YORK

PwC's India boss is lobbying for a seat on the Big Four firm's global executive committee alongside his counterpart in China, arguing that the fast growth of its business and the rising importance of the Indian economy merit a position at the \$53bn network's top table.

Sanjeev Krishan, chair of PwC India, has in recent months petitioned senior figures for him to be added to the firm's influential network leadership team, people familiar with the matter told the Financial Times.

The move has caused ructions within the accounting and consulting firm,

"To put [India on the] team, you would also have to put Canada, France and the Middle East"

with one senior figure familiar with the discussions saying that while the issue has not yet risen to the level of "tensions", it is regarded by some within the network as a "problem".

One partner said Krishan had been "pushing very hard" for a seat while another, who has held global and national leadership roles at the firm, said it was "highly unlikely" that the Indian business would be given a place on the committee.

Like the rest of the Big Four — EY, Deloitte and KPMG — PwC is run as a network of partnerships linked through a global entity. The firm's network leadership team sets overall strategy and standards for its 151-country network.

The leadership team consists of the firm's global chair, the leaders of its US, UK, and Asia-Pacific/China businesses, as well as its Europe boss, who holds a seat that can be rotated at the behest of PwC's global board.

"The size and composition of PwC's network leadership team is determined by the regulations that govern the network and by PwC's global governance board," said PwC International. "There are no current plans to add any additional members to the network leadership team."

The Indian firm's lobbying underlines the sometimes contentious political manoeuvring that occurs in the Big Four's global networks and marks an early test for Mohamed Kande, the incoming global chair.

It comes as PwC's China business faces a crisis over its audits of collapsed property developer Evergrande. One of the senior partners said: "India is very punchy at the moment because of what's going on with China."

Demand for professional services in India has increased rapidly on the back of Prime Minister Narendra Modi's economic drive and the professionalisation of the country's economy.

The Indian firm was the fastest-growing of PwC's 21 largest businesses in the network last year, with revenues jumping by nearly a quarter.

That performance propped up PwC's overall Asia-Pacific revenue growth, which at 7 per cent was slower than the other major regions, dragged down by China. The Indian firm expects to surpass \$1bn in sales for the first time this financial year.

However, the Indian business remains small compared with some of those in other regions.

"If you look at their numbers, the domestic [Indian business] is growing great, but from a very low base," said the partner who has held global and national leadership roles. "To put them on the network leadership team, you would also have to put Canada, France and the Middle East. Suddenly the network leadership team has 10 countries. That would not be workable."

Wrong lane Leading tanker business rules out return to normal Red Sea trade 'anytime soon'



The Rubymar cargo vessel sinks on March 2 after being struck by a Houthi missile in the Red Sea — Al-Jourhoulah/Getty

OLIVER TELLING AND SHOTARO TANI
LONDON

Frontline Management has warned that shipowners are unlikely to return to the Red Sea "anytime soon", despite hopes that a UN proposal for a ceasefire in Gaza could help end attacks on vessels.

The oil tanker group's chief executive Lars Barstad said yesterday that any Gaza ceasefire would not immediately restore shipping through the Red Sea, a vital trade route where Houthi militants have been launching missiles at ships in a show of support for Gaza.

"We all want ceasefire between Hamas and Israel, but to expect owners to put their seafarers at risk passing Red Sea or Gulf of Aden anytime soon is a bit naive," Barstad wrote on X.

He added in comments to the Financial Times: "There is no evidence the Houthis will stop if a ceasefire is agreed."

He pointed to reports of attacks on a cargo ship yesterday.

Barstad's remarks are the latest warning from the industry that shipping routes are unlikely to return to normal for some time, prolonging supply chain disruption.

As well as potentially putting crews at risk, a return to normal trade through the Red Sea could affect the profits of shipowners.

Frontline reported its best full-year result in 15 years in February, with Barstad saying disruption in the Red Sea was causing "[other] trading lanes to widen" and offered "economies of scale, as oil and products move around the Cape of Good Hope".

Shares in Frontline and rivals have jumped since the Houthis started targeting ships in November. Ships were forced to switch routes to the Cape of Good Hope and prices have risen in tandem with sailing times.

But shares in container ship owners

AP Møller-Maersk and Hapag-Lloyd have both fallen 6 per cent since Monday, when the UN Security Council passed a resolution backing Joe Biden's plan for a ceasefire.

Shares in Frontline, which is part of Cypriot magnate Fredriksen's shipping empire, were flat.

Barstad said that "any ceasefire will be fragile" and that Frontline "would not want to have employees" passing through the Red Sea if fighting resumed. "The risks associated [with] this conflict [are] still very high."

Dimitris Maniatis, chief operating officer of security consultancy Seagull Maritime, said "it is obvious to everybody that [the Houthis] are not going to stop. They understand the significance their actions have over the global economy . . . They understand what they have achieved in regards to recognition is more than they have managed before".

Permira head Björklund makes way for joint leaders

ANTOINE GARA — NEW YORK

Permira has named new leaders as part of a succession plan that will put two top dealmakers in charge of the private equity group that holds €80bn in assets.

The London-based firm said that Brian Ruder and Dipan Patel would become co-chief executives in September, taking the reins from Kurt Björklund who has steered a revival of the business since becoming its co-managing partner in 2008, and who will become executive chair.

Björklund led Permira alongside Tom Lister before becoming the company's sole leader in 2021 after Lister's retirement. The duo led a revival of growth at Permira after it became one of the largest private equity groups to be stung by the 2008 financial crisis.

Permira's near €10bn flagship fund raised in 2006 was one of the industry's largest pools of cash, but significant markdowns during the crisis scared many investors, with a successor fund only achieving about half its size.

During the crisis, Permira updated its investment team, hiring new dealmakers including Ruder and Patel, who joined the group in 2008 and 2009 respectively.

Under new leadership, Permira has returned to growth, with its fund sizes increasing in recent years and its overall investment operations roughly tripling in size since 2008.

Ruder helped build Permira's technology-oriented investments, working on large takeovers of software groups including cyber security group McAfee as well as software makers Informatica and Zendesk.

Patel has overseen Permira's investments in the consumer sector, working on large deals such as the €14bn takeover of Adevinta, a Norwegian online classifieds company that was last year's second-largest private equity takeover. Permira has also recently taken shoe-maker Dr Martens public and is preparing to list luxury sports brand Golden Goose in Italy.

The two dealmakers will oversee a privately held investment group whose growth has accelerated as it has diversified its investment operations beyond buyouts and into credit-oriented strategies.

Additional reporting by Ivan Livingston in London

Microsoft faces more antitrust heat as it embraces AI revolution

INSIDE BUSINESS

EUROPE

Javier Espinoza



Microsoft has been feeling the heat in Europe as regulators increasingly scrutinise the deals and business practices of the tech company.

As the software giant ventures into artificial intelligence and other growing areas like cloud computing, gaming and video conferencing, it has had regulatory battles aplenty in Europe after a long truce.

Last year, Microsoft had a battle with regulators over its \$69bn acquisition of Activision, which produces popular games such as *Call of Duty*. The UK's competition watchdog blocked the transaction, leading to furious criticism from Microsoft vice-chair and president Brad Smith, who said the move had shaken confidence in doing business in the UK. Microsoft eventually won that fight though when the deal was cleared.

In Brussels, Microsoft has been fighting some of the most high-profile antitrust probes since its clashes in the 2000s. Some rivals and regulators worry that the tech giant is using its market power to muscle out weaker competition in some key areas.

Antitrust investigators are soon set to issue fresh charges against Microsoft over worries that the tech group is restricting rivals to its videoconferencing app Teams by bundling it into its

software such as Office 365. Microsoft has already offered concessions by extending a plan to untie Teams from other software such as Windows, not just in Europe but also worldwide.

However, rivals don't think the remedies go far enough. "Microsoft's playbook hasn't changed around bundling products into Office and Windows . . . They did that before and they are doing the same again but with a smile," said a Brussels antitrust expert.

Microsoft is also fending off a complaint over what some rivals claim is unfair licensing agreements for cloud computing. It has implemented several licensing changes to appease competition concerns. The company has also offered a multimillion-euro payment to Cloud Infrastructure Services Providers in Europe, a lobby group backed by Amazon, in efforts to avoid a full-blown probe, say people with knowledge of the matter.

Separately, the EU is investigating Microsoft over its \$13bn partnership with OpenAI and regulators are still to make up their minds over a full probe.

As part of wider scrutiny over similar investments by other tech groups, such as Amazon, regulators around the world are looking at whether these transactions may harm competition.

In response to the pressure on various fronts, Microsoft is attempting to strike a conciliatory approach these days, insisting that it is doing everything in its power to comply with the law.

It has recently hired Nicholas Banasevic, a former EU official who played a key role in investigations into Microsoft.

The move is aimed at helping the company to find new approaches to

address their concerns, said a person familiar with Banasevic's recruitment.

In an interview with the Financial Times in Brussels, Smith said: "We are in an era of more scrutiny but we are going to stick to our fundamental approach of trying to be proactive, collaborative and responsible."

Smith said, given the development of artificial intelligence, scrutiny is natural. "It would be unusual if it were not here. For us the big question is to address it in a respectful and proactive way," he said. "Just waiting and watching and hoping and trying to fight everything is not the right path for us. Some other companies have done so in the last decade and we have not."

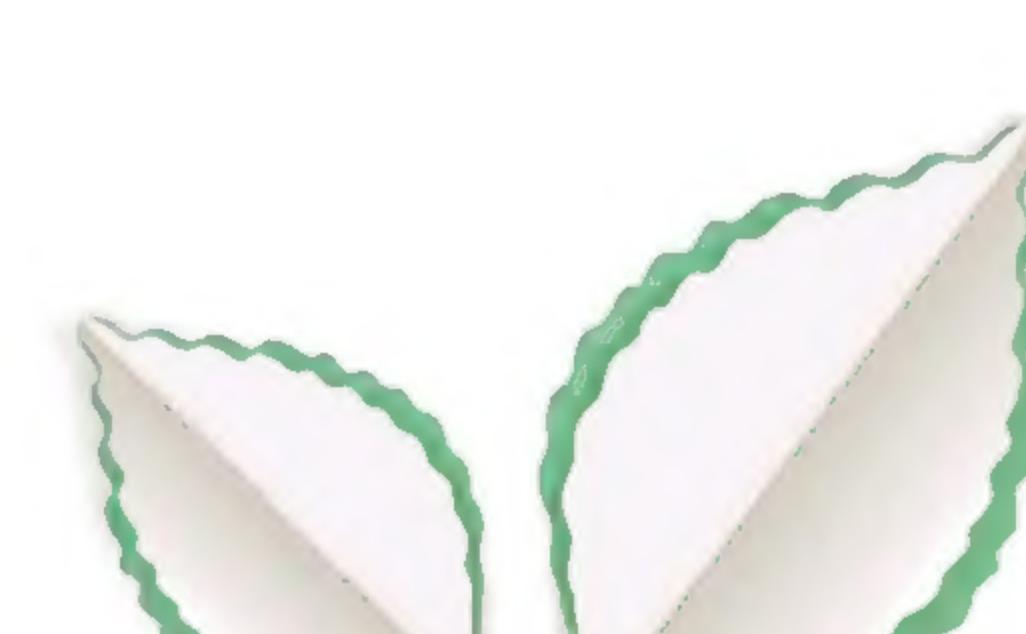
It has not been all unfavourable for Microsoft on the regulatory front. In February, the European Commission said some of the company's services, including online search engine Bing, would not be caught under the Digital Markets Act, with new rules aimed at competition in the bloc.

And it is hardly the only tech company under intense scrutiny. Apple is arguably facing equal or even more intense antitrust pressures in Brussels and Washington. The Cupertino-based company is under investigation in the EU for allegedly failing to comply with the DMA. The EU has also opened so-called non-compliance investigations into Google and Meta.

But scrutiny over Microsoft's business activities, particularly in AI, is telling of a bigger story of regulators' concerns over the growing economic power of tech incumbents, say analysts.

That Microsoft is getting more scrutiny is a sign not only of how adeptly it is navigating the AI transition but of how well it is doing in other areas.

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Media

Redstone scuppers Paramount talks

Studio faces uncertain future after the sudden rejection of Skydance deal

ANNA NICOLAOU AND JAMES FONTANELLA-KHAN — NEW YORK CHRISTOPHER GRIMES — LOS ANGELES

Shari Redstone has ended talks with Skydance Media over a deal that would have handed control of entertainment empire Paramount from her family to billionaire scion David Ellison.

The decision closes the books on talks with Ellison's Skydance that have dragged on for months and left the future of Paramount hanging in the balance. Skydance had offered about \$2bn to acquire Redstone's National Amusements (NAI), and then planned to merge Paramount into Ellison's company through a stock deal. Skydance had offered to buy out about half of Paramount's common shareholders at \$15 a share, while also injecting about \$1.5bn to help pay off the company's debt.

NAI on Tuesday said the groups "have not been able to reach mutually acceptable terms" and that was "is grateful to Skydance for their months of work in pursuing this potential transaction".

A Skydance representative declined to comment. Shares in Paramount closed down 8 per cent at \$11.04 on the news, which was first reported by The Wall Street Journal, and were marginally down in early trading yesterday.

Redstone's decision came as a shock

to Ellison's camp, which included private equity backers RedBird and KKR, as the two sides appeared close to a deal in recent weeks.

Paramount's special committee, which was in charge of representing the interests of all of the shareholders, including those without voting rights, supported the bid in a non-binding endorsement earlier this month, said people briefed about the matter.

Redstone changed her mind in recent days, in part because Skydance lowered the amount of cash that would have gone to holding company NAI as it increased the payout to other shareholders, said a person briefed on the matter. People close to the talks said they were stunned by her decision to

pull the plug. These people added the Ellison consortium had agreed to "pretty much" everything NAI and Paramount had asked for over multiple months of negotiations.

The board's special committee met on Tuesday to discuss the Skydance proposal, only to be informed by an NAI representative that there was no deal. The person added that there was no expectation of "a path forward on this transaction", according to a statement from the directors on the committee.

Redstone is now weighing potential offers from other suitors.

Billionaire Edgar Bronfman Jr has signalled his interest in acquiring NAI for more than \$2bn, according to two people familiar with the matter. His bid is

backed by private equity group Bain. But that group would require weeks to complete due diligence before making a formal offer, these people cautioned.

Redstone has also received interest from film producer Steven Paul, one person said. However, one person involved in the discussions said there was no real alternative to Skydance's offer at the moment.

NAI controls about 80 per cent of Paramount's voting rights despite only owning about 10 per cent of the company's shares. Whoever buys NAI could technically control Paramount without having to buy the entire company, although non-voting shareholders could challenge such a move in the courts.

[See Lex](#)

Basic resources. Agriculture

Ukrainian oligarch warns Kyiv over EU dispute

Kernel founder Verevskyi says food exports feud puts bloc's support for war effort at risk

RAPHAEL MINDER — WARSAW

The owner of one of Ukraine's largest agricultural companies has warned Kyiv against prolonging its dispute with the EU over food exports, saying it risks losing the bloc's support in the war with Russia.

Andriy Verevskyi, the Switzerland-based founder of Kernel, the world's biggest exporter of sunflower oil, said feuding with EU member states at such a critical time was unwise.

"I think Ukraine should not fight with Poland or other European countries over import duties and the protection of the European market," he told the Financial Times in his first face-to-face interview with a media group.

"We have enough [other export] markets for Ukraine: I'm talking about India, Africa, Asia, China et cetera and I don't think we should fight and escalate the relationship between Europe and Ukraine because of agricultural supply."

He added: "If part of eastern Europe wants to protect their market from Ukrainian production, I would say let it go... let's co-operate on more important things for Ukraine. Many people will disagree with me but that's what I believe."

The trade dispute started in April last year when Poland led a handful of EU countries to impose unilateral bans on imports of Ukrainian cereals in response to protests from their farmers about unfair competition.

This followed the EU lifting restrictions on Ukraine's exports in 2022 to help its war-ravaged economy stay afloat. Poland, Slovakia and Hungary kept bans in place despite violating EU common trade policy.

The EU is levying new tariffs on food-stuffs ranging from poultry to maize if quantities exceed the annual average imported from July 2021 to December last year.

Kyiv has introduced licences to avoid exports of sugar and other crops hitting levels that would trigger an EU "emergency brake" on imports.

Although Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk has pledged full support for Ukraine's war effort, he has promised to protect his farmers.

Verevskyi, 49, who controls Kernel through Cyprus holding company Nam-sen, is entangled in a bitter courtroom



Wheat is harvested near Kyiv. Poland and others have imposed bans on Ukraine cereals. Below, Andriy Verevskyi — Paula Bronstein/Getty Images; Roman Zutarev

fight with minority shareholders after he launched a tender offer to delist the group from the Warsaw Stock Exchange because of what he says was a lack of liquidity.

The businessman, who said he had 94 per cent of Kernel's equity, is being sued by some investors for reclaiming ownership of the company without their consent. They accuse him of buying the group on the cheap after taking advantage of a sharp drop in its valuation following Moscow's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022.

Verevskyi had sold shares in a float on the Warsaw exchange in 2007, which after further transactions had

reduced his holding to 37 per cent before the Russian invasion.

Last month a judge in Luxembourg, where Kernel is registered, opened court hearings into the shareholders' complaints.

Verevskyi said he was sympathetic to investors who complained that the delisting was approved by Kernel's board instead of a general assembly of shareholders. But he insisted it was compliant with Luxembourg's laws.

"I've been made to look like a big, bad aggressive guy who is selfish and doesn't care about anything. Perhaps partially it's true, but it's not that simple and there are many things that I'm doing for the company and for its people and for our position in Ukraine," he said.

Verevskyi stressed the plaintiffs were mostly small retail shareholders, with big institutions that still hold the stock including Vanguard, Artemis, Raiffeisen, Morgan Stanley and UBS staying on the sidelines in the court battle.

If part of eastern Europe wants to protect their market from Ukrainian production, I would say let it go'

On President Volodymyr Zelensky, the businessman said his government needed to strengthen the rule of law and reduce corruption in order to get foreign investors involved in the country's post-war reconstruction.

"I am a supporter of the president because I believe he has done a pretty good job and he was at the right place when the war started. But if you ask if Zelensky did economic and legal reforms in the country: No, he didn't."

Zelensky only had two years in office before Russia's invasion, "so I don't know if he had the chance to change anything dramatically, but I'm totally sure that more things could have been done", he added.

Verevskyi was a member of Ukraine's parliament from 2002 until 2013, when a court stripped him of his seat for simultaneously holding public office and running a commercial business.

Additional reporting by Andy Bounds in Brussels

Technology

Voodoo snaps up photo-sharing app BeReal

ADRIENNE KLASA — PARIS STEPHANIE STACEY AND AKILA QUINIO — LONDON

Photo-sharing platform BeReal has been scooped up by video game and app developer Voodoo for €500mn, in a French tie-up that comes as the government beefs up its technology ambitions.

Voodoo plans to launch paid advertising on BeReal in an effort to move the company towards profitability, its chief executive Alexandre Yazdi told the Financial Times, adding that it wanted to expand the company's active user base.

The takeover was advised by JPMorgan and is the biggest in Voodoo's history. Aymeric Roffé, head of Voodoo-owned social media app Wizz, will become chief executive of BeReal, while Alexis Barreyat, who founded the platform in 2019 aged 26, will remain "actively involved".

Jean de la Rochebrochard, a BeReal board member and partner at Kima Ventures, an investment company co-founded by French billionaire Xavier Niel, called the sale "a wise decision", especially as big financing rounds had become rarer while investors focused on the much-hyped artificial intelligence sector.

BeReal promotes authenticity on its platform in contrast to the filters and editing commonplace on rivals such as Snapchat and Instagram. The Paris-based tech company, however, has largely stagnated in terms of user growth since 2022 when its popularity surged among teenagers and young adults.

The acquisition came as Mistral AI, another French start-up, raised €600mn for an almost €6bn valuation as it seeks to grow from being a national champion to competing on the global tech stage. That deal was the biggest yet for a start-up based outside Silicon

Valley that is building large general-purpose AI models.

BeReal has in the past been financed through venture capital, raising a total of \$90mn, according to data provider Crunchbase.

BeReal's monthly active users have held steady at about 50mn since the end of 2022, according to data from market intelligence company Sensor Tower. Downloads, however, tumbled from a peak of about 35mn in the third quarter of 2022 to 5mn in the three months to March this year.

"We think advertising is necessary for the business model of a social media platform," said Yazdi. He emphasised that ads would be integrated in an "extremely fluid" format to avoid "damaging the user experience".

Rival platform Instagram, which is owned by Meta, introduced paid advertising in 2013, three years after it first launched.

Elon Musk has withdrawn his lawsuit against OpenAI and its chief executive Sam Altman three months after he accused them of compromising the start-up's original mission to benefit humanity.

The owner of X and boss of Tesla filed to voluntarily dismiss his breach of contract claims at a San Francisco court on Tuesday. The filing did not elaborate on the reason for the dismissal.

In March, Musk had sued the \$86bn start-up behind ChatGPT, alleging that its multibillion-dollar alliance with Microsoft had broken an agreement to make a big breakthrough in AI "freely available to the public".

He said that OpenAI was working on "proprietary technology to maximise profits for literally the largest company in the world".

OpenAI rejected his claims, calling them "incoherent" and "frivolous".

Technology

Musk withdraws lawsuit against OpenAI

TABBY KINDER — SAN FRANCISCO

Elon Musk has withdrawn his lawsuit against OpenAI and its chief executive Sam Altman three months after he accused them of compromising the start-up's original mission to benefit humanity.

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OpenAI rejected his claims, calling them "incoherent" and "frivolous".

It published a blog post in March that included several of Musk's emails from the early days of the company, which appeared to show that he acknowledged that the ChatGPT maker needed to raise large sums of money to fund the computing resources required to develop AI models.

Musk has had a long-running dispute with Altman. He helped co-found the company in 2015 and donated \$44mn to

the group, but left OpenAI's board in 2018 after disagreeing with Altman on the direction of its research. A year later, the group established the for-profit division in which Microsoft has invested.

Musk launched his own AI start-up, xAI, last year and this year raised \$6bn from venture capital and wealth funds to fuel its development. He has at the same time repeatedly warned of the dangers of the tech, last year calling it an "existential threat" to humanity.

Earlier this week, he criticised a partnership between OpenAI and Apple in a post on X and said Apple devices would be banned at his companies if the start-up's technology was integrated on to iPhones.

"Visitors will have to check their Apple devices at the door, where they will be stored in a Faraday cage," he wrote.

OpenAI declined to comment. Musk did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

Industrials

Umicore hit by pullback in demand for EV battery materials

HARRY DEMPSEY — LONDON

One of the largest makers of battery materials has warned of a rapid deterioration in demand as the once-booming electric-vehicle market slows.

Umicore, which makes materials used in cathodes, the most expensive part of an electric vehicle battery, yesterday pointed to the "sharp slowdown in the growth of demand for EVs".

As a result, the Belgium-based company slashed its profit forecast, saying that "2024 volumes for its battery materials could be equal or slightly lower than last year".

The warning from Umicore, which competes with Germany's BASF and a number of Chinese and South Korean companies, is the latest evidence of how slowing EV sales growth is reverberating across the industry's supply chain.

"Our short-term outlook in battery materials is clearly disappointing," said chief executive Bart Sap, who was appointed in May. "We are adapting our pace to this new reality and are taking the necessary actions to navigate the immediate challenges."

Shares in the Brussels-based group slid 7 per cent yesterday to a 10-year low. With the demand picture weakening, Umicore said its battery materials business would have been lossmaking

'Our outlook in battery materials is disappointing. We are adapting our pace to this new reality'

this year without a one-off €50mn gain related to vehicle recalls, compared with an earlier forecast for €135mn.

The company counts Volkswagen and BMW as customers.

The group blamed a scaling back of plans by European carmakers as well as expected volumes from a Chinese manufacturer failing to materialise.

"Over the past weeks, we started to get signals from our customers," Sap said. "Unfortunately, it has become clear that the volumes that we had anticipated, especially for the second half of the year of 2024, will not be materialising."

According to consultancy CRU, global sales of fully electric cars are forecast to grow 21 per cent to 12mn units this year — down from a 28 per cent pace last year with the slowdown steepest in Europe.

Umicore, which specialises in nickel and cobalt batteries, is also confronting the challenge of Chinese-produced batteries that do not use either material and are cheaper. They do, however, have shorter driving ranges.

"We also see some LFP coming to Europe," Sap said, referring to the cheaper Chinese lithium iron phosphate technology.

The EU is set to apply tariffs of up to almost 50 per cent on Chinese electric vehicles from next month as Brussels attempts to fend off the wave of imports from Asia's largest economy.

Shaken by the pullback in demand, Umicore cut its planned capital expenditure this year from more than €800mn to more than €650mn.

For the group as a whole, Umicore, which also produces catalytic converters for combustion engine vehicle cars, has cut its forecast for earnings before interest, tax, depreciation and amortisation to €760mn-€800mn, which is down from an earlier prediction of €900mn-€950mn.



Elon Musk has had a long-running dispute with the start-up's boss

Financial services

Ball's exit triggers EY leadership race

Accountancy firm boss to step down as industry confronts slowdown

MICHAEL O'DWYER AND SIMON FOY
LONDON

EY's UK boss Hywel Ball plans to step down, triggering a leadership race just as the Big Four firm confronts a market slowdown.

In an email to partners seen by the Financial Times, Ball, who has led the accountancy firm since 2020, told colleagues it was time to "hand on the baton" to someone else.

As head of the UK firm, the second-

largest in EY's global network behind the US, Ball was an influential figure as the firm's global bosses tried and failed to split its accounting and consulting arms globally.

The 61-year-old was a strong proponent of the deal, codenamed Project Everest, which would have transformed the business model that has dominated the accounting profession for decades.

EY's global boss Carmine Di Sibio, who was the architect of the proposed split, is also set to leave the firm at the end of this month.

In his note to partners, Ball said he would agree a transition plan with his successor but that he did not envisage a lengthy handover period.

Ball is older than the firm's usual retirement age of 60 but was handed a second extension to his tenure last year. A person briefed on the decision said at the time that Ball intended to serve the full length of his extension until June 2025.

"The commitment I made was to navigate the UK business through the uncertainties that came after our separation discussions," Ball said in the note, adding that the firm had needed to "regroup" after Project Everest was abandoned last year.

Ball, who has spent 40 years at EY and was paid £3.6m in 2023, has overseen a period of rapid expansion, with revenues rising from £2.6bn in 2020 to

£3.76bn last year. Consultants have cashed in on demand for advice as businesses grappled with changes stemming from the pandemic, net zero targets and artificial intelligence.

In the past year, he has attempted to stabilise the business after the collapse of Project Everest, slashing the size of its executive team and cutting hundreds of jobs as the industry faces a slowdown in demand for its services.

In a separate note to all staff, seen by the FT, Ball said the decisions he took to restructure the business were "difficult" and "never easy".

His exit will kick off a highly political succession process overseen by EY's international bosses in which several

senior partners are likely to jostle for the top job. The UK firm's 930 equity partners will be consulted on who should be the new senior partner as part of a "soundings" process but will not get a direct vote, according to a person with knowledge of the process.

Ball surprised many colleagues by emerging as a consensus candidate in 2020, according to people with knowledge of that process.

His role as chair and senior partner is set to be split, meaning a new chair will also need to be selected.

The firm declined to comment on how it would pick the new chair or whether it would seek an external appointee.

Retail

US senator urges UK probe of Shein 'slave labour' claims before listing

DEMETRI SEVASTOPULO — WASHINGTON
LAURA ONITA — LONDON

The top Republican on the US Senate intelligence committee has urged the UK government to investigate whether Shein, the Chinese fashion group planning to list in London, has used forced labour in its operations.

Marco Rubio, a Florida Republican and China hawk, wrote to UK chancellor Jeremy Hunt to raise concerns about the fast-fashion company, which had considered a public listing in New York.

"Shein previously sought to list in New York City but failed due to concerns about its unethical and irresponsible business practices. At the time, I warned US securities regulators about Shein's alleged exploitation of slave labour and trade loopholes," Rubio wrote. "I now feel a duty of friendship to repeat these warnings and urge caution before the United Kingdom allows Shein to list in London."

The letter, which was sent on Tuesday, was also addressed to Nikhil Rathi, the chief executive of the UK's Financial Conduct Authority. Shein is seeking to list on the London Stock Exchange. Senior UK politicians from Labour and Conservative parties, including Hunt, have recently met with the company.

A prospective London listing would

Human rights groups say ethnic minorities are being used as forced labour in Shein's cotton supply

be a boost for the financial centre after a dearth of large IPOs in recent years.

However, top UK institutional investors have told the Financial Times that the controversy over Shein's alleged use of forced labour would deter them from investing in the group.

Human rights groups say ethnic minorities are being used as forced labour in Shein's cotton supply in the northwestern Chinese region of Xinjiang. The company has denied the claims and said that it has a "zero tolerance policy for forced labour".

The company declined to comment on Rubio's letter. The UK Treasury said it would not comment given the pre-election period in Britain.

Shein is just one of many Chinese firms that have come under scrutiny over allegations of using forced labour in Xinjiang. The Biden administration has accused Beijing of committing "genocide" in Xinjiang where more than 1mn Uyghurs and other minorities have been detained in camps.

"Slave labour, sweatshops, and trade tricks are the dirty secrets behind Shein's success," Rubio added in his letter to Hunt and Rathi. "I trust you will treat these allegations against Shein with the utmost seriousness, investigate them fully, and take appropriate action to protect investors."

Shein, which moved its headquarters to Singapore, has also come under criticism for what critics say are practices designed to circumvent US customs enforcement and tax rules.

Rubio said it exploited a regulatory loophole that allows it to ship products from China to US consumers without any customs inspections or duties.

Congress is working on legislation that would close that loophole, and Rubio urged the UK to take similar action.

Financials

Operations chief at top payments processor checks out

AKILA QUINIO AND IVAN LEVINGSTON
LONDON

A senior executive at payment processing company [Checkout.com](#) is leaving the group, once Europe's most valuable start-up.

Céline Dufétel, president and chief operating officer, was departing, according to people familiar with the matter. The news was announced internally on Tuesday, they said.

Dufétel joined Checkout's New York office in 2021 from T. Rowe Price, where she was chief financial officer and chief operating officer.

Her exit follows a turbulent period for the once-high-flying start-up. The group became Europe's most valuable private technology business after securing funding from US investment group Tiger Global and Singapore wealth fund GIC at a \$40bn valuation in early 2022. But [Checkout.com](#) was forced to slash its valuation to \$1bn in December that year amid a fintech industry rout as rising rates hit the sector.

Operating losses at [Checkout.com](#)'s London-registered entity more than tripled to \$126mn in 2022, the latest year for which its filings are available, due to lower consumer spending amid surging inflation and a slowdown in cryptocurrency trading volumes.

[Checkout.com](#)'s revenue, which includes fees charged to merchants, fell to \$246.3mn in 2022 on \$259.6mn in 2021.

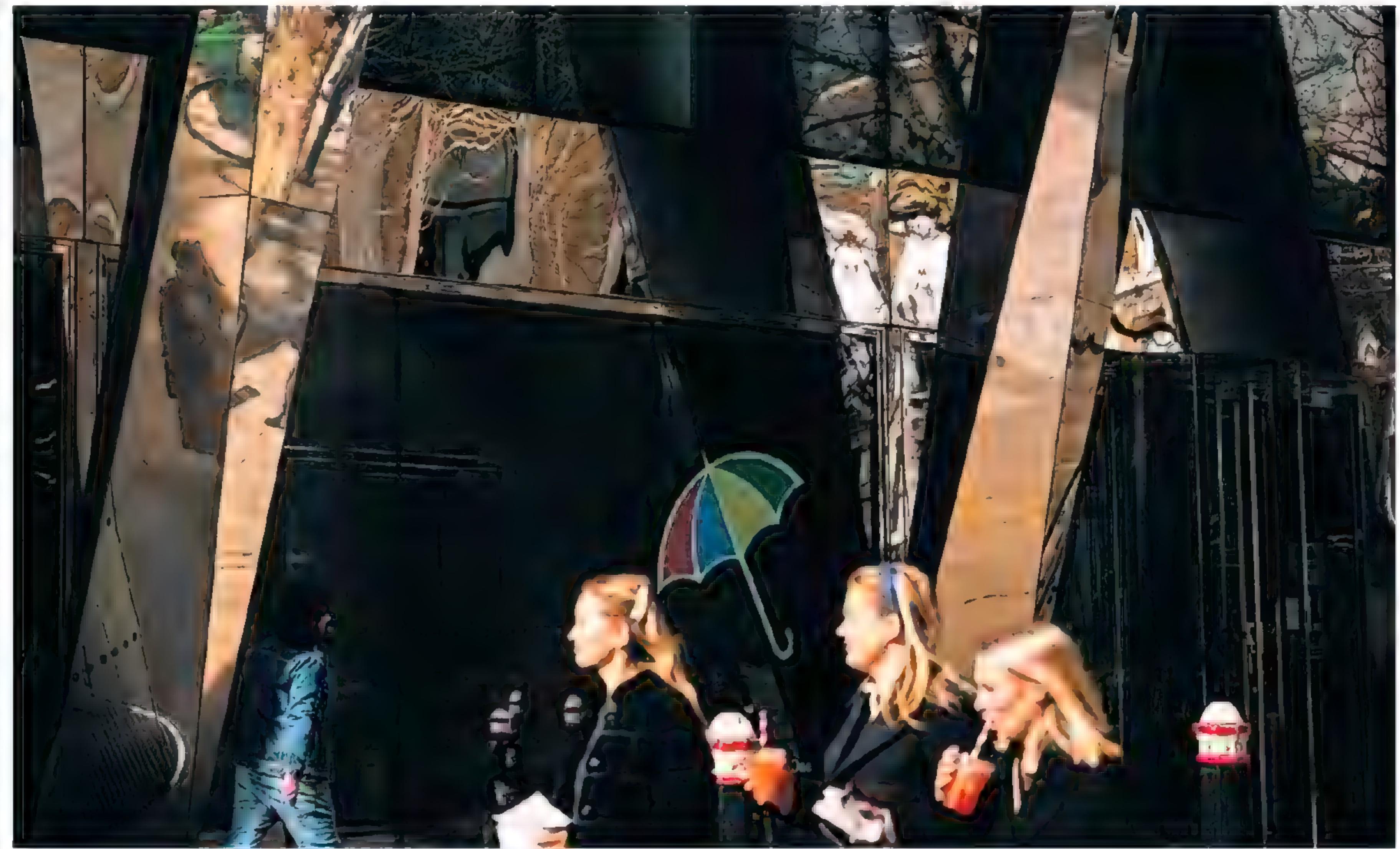
The company, which is active in regions beyond Europe, including the US and Asia, said at its results in February that its UK accounts were not representative of the entire group.

[Checkout.com](#) said its fintech and crypto customers in particular had been hit by tougher macroeconomic conditions, as it highlighted "lower trading volumes observed, particularly among emerging digital currency clients".

The Financial Times reported in 2022 that the company had attracted scrutiny from French watchdog ACPR, which raised concerns about its compliance department staffing levels.

[Checkout.com](#) was founded by Guillaume Fousaz in 2012 as a tech-focused payments processing company.

[Checkout.com](#) did not immediately respond to a request for comment about Dufétel's departure.



L&G revamp Single asset management unit planned

Legal & General chief executive António Simões has unveiled an overhaul of the insurer, including putting its housebuilding business up for sale, announcing the departure of its asset management chief, and a new shareholder return strategy starting with a £200mn buyback.

Simões promised a "simpler, better-connected L&G" yesterday, in his first big strategy announcement since he joined the group in January from Santander.

The changes include creating a single asset management division that will bring together Legal & General Investment Management, the UK's largest asset manager but L&G's smallest division by operating profit, and the alternative assets unit, Legal & General Capital, which invests shareholder money in assets such as infrastructure and building projects.

It is putting some non-core assets up for sale, notably housebuilder Cala. As a result, the group said it would return more than previously planned to shareholders over the next few years, through a mixture of dividends and buybacks.

Analysts at JPMorgan welcomed the shareholder return plan, but RBC

Capital Markets said new targets for how much surplus capital L&G would generate were behind consensus. "This prompts the question on the affordability of the promised shareholder returns," RBC analysts wrote.

Shares in the group fell 5.5 per cent yesterday.

As part of the overhaul, Michelle Scrimgeour will step down as CEO of LGIM. The group said it had begun its search for a replacement.

Scrimgeour will stay on until a successor is found and will lead the setting up of the new combined division with Laura Mason, who has been made CEO of private markets in the new division.

The FTSE 100 group also wants to expand in the market for corporate pensions deals, where companies pay insurers to take on their pension liabilities.

L&G is aiming to complete up to £65bn of pension deals in the UK by the end of 2028. It agreed £13.7bn globally last year.

However, the business is unpopular with some investors for being capital-intensive and hard to forecast.

The group wants to

increase its assets under management in private markets for third-party investors and expand its workplace pensions business.

It is aiming to deliver compound annual growth in its core operating earnings per share of between 6 and 9 per cent until 2027.

Fahad Changazi, analyst at Mediobanca, said that there could be cultural issues with merging LGIM, which is "like a great British institution", with Legal & General Capital, which is "more like a hedge fund".

Peel Hunt said the asset management overhaul would be Simões's "toughest challenge", with a new CEO for the division needed "as soon as possible".

On a media call, Simões said there were opportunities to avoid cost duplication between the units, but that did not include job cuts.

"This is a growth plan and we are investing to grow the business, so this is not about redundancies," he said.

In March, Simões promised to develop a "simpler investment case" for the group. Under his predecessor Sir Nigel Wilson, it had focused more on investing in "socially useful" assets such as science parks and affordable housing. Simões said yesterday that the group's "sense of purpose" would remain central to its strategy. Ian Smith and Emma Dunkley



Banks

Starling boosts sum set aside for bad loans

AKILA QUINIO

Starling Bank sharply increased the amount it set aside for bad loans as the digital lender that relied on government-backed schemes to build its loan book during the Covid-19 pandemic contends with a rise in defaults.

The privately owned fintech set aside £13.9mn for bad loans in the year to the end of March, up 40 per cent on the previous year, as it flagged a rise in mortgage arrears and "increased default rates in the unsecured proportion of [small and medium-sized enterprise] lending".

The results come after the challenger bank attracted scrutiny from politicians after it expanded its loan book largely using government-backed lending schemes.

During the pandemic, such programmes allowed SMEs to borrow up to £5mn, with government guarantees of 80 to 100 per cent and minimal checks,

to provide a lifeline to struggling companies. The government has previously estimated that about 11 per cent of the £47bn lent by banks through its so-called bounceback scheme could be lost to fraud.

Starling's pre-tax profits rose 55 per cent to £301mn in the year to the end of March as its total deposit base grew

The lender said it had the ambition to list on the London market but did not provide a timeframe

4 per cent to £11bn. Revenues rose 51 per cent to £682.2mn.

The results mark the third consecutive year of positive earnings for Starling, which was the first of a cohort of digital lenders to reach profitability thanks to a push into lending.

Interim chief executive John Moun-

tain said the bank had the ambition to list on the London stock market but he did not provide a timeframe.

Starling has been trying to expand new revenue streams by franchising its software to other banks through a service called Engine. Investor Chrysalis, Starling's second-largest backer, last month said the push could help boost the bank's valuation to about £10bn.

Staff costs rose 69 per cent to £250mn in the year to the end of March as the group hired more people to expand its technology franchise while it also beefed up its anti-financial crime capabilities. The bank's headcount increased by 898 to 3,660.

Starling has 4.2mn customers, up from 3.6mn a year earlier, and serves about 9 per cent of the SME banking market. The lender, whose founder Anne Boden stepped down last year, will from June 24 be led by Raman Bharia, the outgoing chief executive of Ovo. See Lex

MAXINE KELLY AND HARRIET AGNEW

Shares in Rentokil rose more than 15 per cent yesterday after it emerged that activist Nelson Peltz's Trian Partners had taken a stake in the world's largest pest control company.

The shares were the biggest gainers on the FTSE 100, driving Rentokil's market capitalisation to £11.9bn.

The London-listed group has struggled in recent months with a slowdown in demand in the US, which accounts for more than half its sales following its £6.7bn acquisition of Terminix in 2021.

Trian said that it had a "significant position" in Rentokil, making it a top-10 shareholder. It "has reached out to Rentokil to discuss ideas and initiatives to improve shareholder value", the firm said, adding that it "looks forward to working with Rentokil's leadership team".

Rentokil declined to comment on Trian's stake, which was first reported

by Bloomberg. Despite the jump in its shares yesterday, the stock remains down 27 per cent over the past 12 months.

Peltz is best known for his turnaround campaigns at large consumer goods companies such as Mondelez, Heinz and Procter & Gamble. Trian's playbook is to

buy a stake in a listed company and agitate for improvements, often by seeking a board seat and sometimes pushing for a division to be broken up or sold.

In Trian's almost 20 years in business, it has taken on more than 30 engagements, ranging from behind-the-scenes dialogue to all-out proxy war, at some of the largest consumer, financial and

industrial companies. Most recently, Trian lost a proxy fight at US entertainment group Walt Disney, where Peltz had waged an expensive campaign for board seats.

UK investment platform AJ Bell suggested that Trian could call on Rentokil to shift its listing to New York, echoing a strategy it adopted when it took a stake in UK plumbing and heating equipment supplier Ferguson.

The multibillion-dollar pest-control industry expanded strongly during the pandemic because of increased concerns about viruses and diseases stemming from Covid-19. More recently, customers have been worried about the rise of bedbug infestations, particularly in France and the UK.

Rentokil's North America operations was £3.3bn in 2023, accounting for more than half of its sales of £5.3bn. Rentokil's interim results are expected on July 25. See Lex

Support services

Rentokil rises as Peltz takes 'significant position'

Nelson Peltz's Trian "reached out to discuss ideas and initiatives to improve shareholder value".



COMPANIES & MARKETS

Fixed income. Sovereign bonds

Minister warns of 'Truss-style' debt crisis if Le Pen wins poll



Le Maire tells fellow officials of risks after heavy sell-off lifts French borrowing costs

ADRIENNE KLASA — PARIS
MARY McDougall — LONDON

France's finance minister has warned that the country could face a debt crisis akin to the UK's gilt market turmoil under former prime minister Liz Truss if the Rassemblement National wins snap elections this month and next.

In a sign of market nerves, French government bonds have sold off sharply since Emmanuel Macron's announcement on Sunday that he would dissolve parliament and call fresh elections after his party was routed by the far right in European elections.

The sell-off has pushed the gap between French and German borrowing costs to its highest level since October. The cost of some maturities of French debt has also risen above those of Portugal, which was bailed out during the Eurozone crisis and had a junk credit rating for much of the past decade.

"If the RN implements its programme, a debt crisis is possible. A Liz Truss-style scenario is possible," finance minister Bruno Le Maire told local party officials on Tuesday night.

A crisis erupted in the UK bond market in 2022 when Truss put forward a Budget that would have implemented tens of billions of pounds' worth of unfunded tax cuts.

Truss was forced to resign after only 44 days in office, but not before the crisis had knocked hundreds of billions of pounds off the value of UK pension

schemes. Le Maire warned that France "simply [does] not have the means to finance [RN leader] Marine Le Pen's additional tens of billions of euros" in costs associated with the party's agenda to cut sales taxes and reduce the retirement age.

The RN did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

The yield on benchmark 10-year French bonds rose as much as 0.22 percentage points on Monday and Tuesday to more than 3.33 per cent at one stage, pushing the premium on France's borrowing costs over Germany's to 0.62 percentage points.

French bonds later partially reversed losses to trade at a yield of 3.15 per cent yesterday, although they lagged behind a global rally. However, investors remain concerned that, should the RN take or share power, its plans for tens of billions of euros of extra public spending could prevent any improvements in the country's yawning budget deficit.

François Villeroy de Galhau, governor of the Bank of France, yesterday warned

that the country needed to clarify its spending trajectory as soon as possible.

"It will be important that, whatever the outcome of the vote, France can quickly clarify its economic strategy and in particular its budgetary strategy," he told Radio Classique yesterday morning. "Electoral periods are always accompanied by uncertainty ... but investors do not like uncertainty."

The heavy selling of French bonds this week follows rating agency S&P's decision to lower its rating on French debt at the end of May to double A minus, pouring cold water on the government's efforts to improve its public finances.

"When you look at French debt metrics, the deficit is an issue, and I think that, combined with political uncertainty, makes it no surprise that spreads have widened," said Andrew Balls, chief investment officer for global fixed income at Pimco. Markets were "pricing the risk appropriately".

France's budget deficit was far above target at 5.5 per cent last year, which puts France on the EU's excessive deficit

Rassemblement National leader Marine Le Pen and party president Jordan Bardella at an event in Paris this week — Julien de Rosa/AFP via Getty Images

procedure list. According to new EU rules that kick in next year, France will need to reduce its structural deficit by 0.5 per cent per year until the overall deficit comes below 3 per cent.

The government has pledged to bring the deficit below 3 per cent by 2027. Cedric Gemehl, analyst at Gavekal Research, said those plans "did not look credible to begin with" and "even less so now", adding that "further downgrades look probable".

Jason Davis, global rates portfolio manager at JPMorgan Asset Management, said he had held a lower-than-benchmark weighting in French government bonds for some time.

"The snap election increases uncertainty over the trajectory of France's fiscal sustainability and subsequent credit ratings," he said.

Still, France's bond sell-off remains more muted than in 2017 when Le Pen finished second in the first round of voting for the French presidency, pushing the spread in borrowing costs between the Eurozone's second-largest economy and Germany to 0.8 percentage points.

Since 2017, Le Pen has rowed back on plans to pull France out of the EU. Analysts say the widening of the spread this time should be less intense in the coming months, but warned that France's presidential elections in 2027 could pose a bigger risk to markets should Le Pen remain far ahead in the polls.

"In a nutshell, the key issue for markets is the possible fiscal implications from a Le Pen majority rather than an existential one such as potential Brexit," said Meera Chandan, global FX strategist at JPMorgan Chase.

Additional reporting by Kate Duguid in New York

France 'does not have the means to finance Le Pen's additional tens of billions of euros' in costs

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AI boom powers the competitors to Tesla's battery storage business

MORAL MONEY



Patrick Temple-West

When most people think of Tesla, they picture its electric cars (or maybe a Cybertruck). And when most people think of Tesla's competitors, Ford, General Motors and other auto manufacturers come to mind.

But not Julian Nebreda, chief executive of Fluence Energy, a Virginia-based, publicly traded US energy storage provider. "Tesla is probably our biggest competitor," Nebreda said.

It is all due to Tesla's significant — and perhaps under-appreciated — battery storage division.

Tesla launched a battery storage business in 2015. In April this year, Tesla reported record energy storage revenues of \$1.6bn for the first quarter.

"Energy generation and storage

remains our highest margin business," the company said in an earnings report.

Fluence went public in 2021 and was started by AES, a Virginia utility, and German energy company Siemens.

AES started work on lithium-ion energy storage in 2007 and now Fluence is one of Wall Street's favourite companies as it hopes to benefit from booming electricity demand underpinned by artificial intelligence.

Data centre demand is not new — what is new is the urgency, Nebreda said. "That is where we are going to play in terms of speed and getting permits. In terms of efficiency, we are the technology that is the fastest."

While batteries are not as visually appealing as wind turbines or solar panels, they can play a crucial role in maintaining stable supply in electricity grids that are set to rely increasingly on intermittent renewable sources.

Growth in batteries dominated almost all other clean energy technologies in 2023, the International Energy Agency said in an April report.

Last year, battery deployment in the energy sector increased by more than 130 per cent year on year. And while

many people might associate batteries with electric cars, the energy sector accounts for more than 90 per cent of overall battery demand.

The AI revolution has undeniably captivated investors around the world. Chipmaker Nvidia's market capitalisation briefly hit \$3tn last week, worth the entire Paris Cac 40 stocks index plus most of Frankfurt's XetraDax.

Investors have been eyeing underappreciated, "picks and shovels" companies to bet on the AI boom. Storage companies such as Fluence are rising as one such business.

"We believe [Fluence] should appeal to a wide swath of investors" — those both in traditional energy and environmental, social and governance (ESG), said JPMorgan in a May 9 report.

Surging investor interest in energy storage has opened doors to different technologies. Lithium batteries such as the ones Tesla makes are not the only way to store electricity.

Form Energy, a Massachusetts-based storage business, sells iron-air battery technology. Form argues its batteries can last much longer than lithium and are cheaper.

In December, Form won a \$30mn grant from California for a project that will discharge power into the state's grid for 100 hours.

The award is part of a California Energy Commission programme dedicated specifically to investing in long-duration energy storage. And in Minnesota, Xcel Energy, a utility, is partnering with Form to deploy two iron-air battery systems at retired coal plants.

"Our 100-hour, iron-air battery is

designed to deliver the demand dexterity needed to allow large industrial loads to be connected quickly," said Mateo Jaramillo, Form Energy's chief executive.

According to Jaramillo, technologies already exist today that can be deployed quickly and at scale to meet rising electricity demand.

For example, the excitement and

investor dollars in small nuclear reactors might be overly optimistic, he said.

These small modular reactors "while promising as a new grid resource, still have uncertain timelines and cost profiles", he added.

One of the challenges for companies in the renewable energy ecosystem is trade restrictions.

"Geopolitics is a headwind," Nebreda said, since some Fluence parts are coming from China.

"We work with a global supply chain and that is important to deliver products at good prices," he added. "A world in which you cannot send things around effectively is a worry."

Another hurdle is cheap electricity. In some parts of the US, energy capacity costs "have just fallen through the floor," said PJ Deschenes, a managing director in Nomura's "greentech" division.

For some investors, there was not enough pricing power to motivate new battery investments on their own "and that is a problem", he said.

"You will ultimately need a more clear payment for capacity in the system," Deschenes added.

If electricity grids are hit by extreme weather or crack because of a crisis, surging prices could force the need for more batteries, he noted. "It is one thing if you are paying 20 cents a kilowatt hour. It is another if you have to pay \$5."

The biggest challenge for storage companies might be keeping up with Tesla. Nebreda acknowledged that Tesla also did residential battery storage and "clearly their cost of capital is much better than ours".

As critical as batteries were for renewable energy storage, "the challenge is how new entrants compete with incumbents such as Tesla" as well as BYD, China's rival electric-vehicle manufacturer, said Arash Nazhad, a managing director at Moelis who co-leads the company's cleantech group.

Elon Musk's company is clearly a juggernaut. But the evolution of competing energy storage companies will have ramifications for the global clean energy transition in ways that do not involve electric vehicles.

A version of this article first appeared in the Moral Money newsletter. Sign up at [ft.com/newsletters](#)

Financials

Fidelity seals 'dozens' of payment deals from ETF providers

WILL SCHMITT — NEW YORK

Fidelity Investments is pushing ahead with securing deals allowing it to siphon off up to 15 per cent of exchange traded fund revenues, highlighting the retail brokerage's huge power as a gateway to US fund distribution.

Fidelity has reached revenue-sharing agreements with "dozens" of ETF issuers, a person with knowledge of the situation said, and is continuing to negotiate with many others.

If issuers failed to sign up to the new agreement, investors wishing to buy their ETFs could be faced with a surcharge of up to \$100.

The decision to ramp up efforts to claw back some of the cost of providing free trading to retail investors comes even as rival Charles Schwab adopts a more cautious stance.

It also follows protests from some in the industry who have said the strategy could result in higher fees on their products and a potential slowdown in product development.

"The decision to harmonise some of our fee policies comes as our level of support and service for ETFs across the industry is growing rapidly," a Fidelity spokesperson said.

"We continue to work closely with

'We are watching what Fidelity does while we evaluate how best to serve our clients'

asset managers, as we've always done, to engage in constructive dialogue and reach outcomes that reflect a more consistent approach across mutual funds and ETFs," the spokesperson added.

While Schwab also operates a major US retail brokerage, it is not pursuing such a broad revenue-sharing programme.

Charles Schwab president Rick Wurster said the firm was monitoring Fidelity's efforts, acknowledging the substantial costs of running a large brokerage.

"Investment brokerage might be the only business where the company providing the consumer access and services often receives no compensation from the manufacturer," said Wurster. "We are watching what Fidelity does while we evaluate how best to serve our clients and be fairly compensated for the services we provide."

Revenue-sharing payments for marketing services, data agreements and offsetting the costs of platforms like Fidelity's and Charles Schwab's are nothing new.

Schwab, for example, collects revenue-sharing payments related to certain active "semi-transparent" ETFs, though those represent a tiny fraction of the overall market.

Fidelity's revenue-sharing programme is broader and its proposed \$100 fee would reverse a years-long trend of retail brokerages lowering charges for investors buying into the \$6.6tn US ETF industry.

Fidelity said it did not comment on specific dealings.

COMPANIES & MARKETS

Banks need to get more granular on managing risk

Barnabas Reynolds
Markets Insight



Banks are in the business of managing risk so they should have the fullest picture possible of where the potential pitfalls lie in their operations.

Yet in recent remarks, Elizabeth McCaul of the Supervisory Board of the European Central Bank highlighted weaknesses in data aggregation and risk reporting by banks, saying many had not paid enough attention to this topic.

This points to a wider problem that regulators, managers and investors need to address. Existing bank rules worldwide require the gathering of data without sufficient granularity.

The data currently collected and reported to the regulators provides a snapshot of a "point in time". This does not allow for a comprehensive, holistic evaluation of actual risk, even in aggregate, as the data is not continuous and not detailed enough.

Given the complexity of the regulatory environment, many banks are managing their liquidity and other calculations in line with the requirements of the relevant regulations and no more. The regulators know this and insist on additional capital to compensate.

The market then discounts the value of banks because liquidity problems and other risks can clearly be missed – as was seen in the cases of Silicon Valley Bank and Credit Suisse.

This is one of the key reasons why the market value of most European banks is at, below or barely above their book value; and in the US, their market value is (with some notable exceptions) barely higher than that.

The current regulations arose from the global financial crisis of 2008 when the world's regulators required significant increases in risk-absorbing capital

and the better management of liquidity. Most bank regulations are designed to address risks arising from banks' essential functions, including so-called "maturity transformation".

Banks borrow on a short-term basis, often through deposits, and lend for the longer term in big amounts. This exposes them to the possibility of having hurriedly to borrow or otherwise find monies to meet demands for repayment.

Also, trading positions and collateral calls on derivatives can lead to abrupt demands for cash. There is a separate possibility of a default on banks' assets, such as loans. In extreme situations,

Making changes is a big step but the costs will be recouped with enhanced efficiency many times

banks can fall victim to a "run", whereby substantial numbers of short-term depositors and other claimants call for their monies all at once.

This problem has become more acute as depositors can speedily manage their financial affairs on their smartphones.

Advances in data science now permit the gathering and examination of data at a granular level, making it possible for banks to create a more complete, real-time picture of individual cash flows across their books.

Such advances mean that banks can supplement their traditional databases, which require manual modification and may be slow. A handful of banks have already started to collect and assess fuller information centrally, at least in part. With such detailed data, banks can

match specific inflows and outflows across their lending, derivatives and other books – performing a "cash flow at risk" assessment against possible demands for repayment, defaults or market events.

Critically, this can cover every outgoing, including loan interest payments, which are not generally risk-assessed by the regulators' current metrics.

Knowing where the monies will come from if a payment is due in three hours, or where funding can urgently be obtained if the chosen monies fail to materialise, is sound risk management.

If this data is then enriched with business and legal information, for instance on the bank's rights in particular situations, it is possible to determine how to ensure the necessary cash is available when the time comes. Improved methodologies will also facilitate the evaluation of whether contractual or other offsets are being underused; and whether new contracts should be put in place.

If the world's legislators and regulators are too slow to move, the banks can nevertheless improve their data quality straight away. A better picture of risk can then be achieved. When this is explained to regulators and investors, confidence will increase, resulting in lower capital and higher valuations.

Making these changes is a significant step but their cost will be recouped many times over through enhanced efficiency and improved risk anticipation. Banks will be able to play their central role with renewed confidence.

The regulators will benefit substantially: they can operate as air traffic controllers with full visibility of risk.

Barnabas Reynolds is a UK bank regulatory lawyer

The day in the markets

What you need to know

- Wall Street hits record highs, led by rate-sensitive real estate companies
- Inflation data pushes 2-year Treasury yields to lowest level since early April
- Paris stocks climb after sell-off earlier in the week on election jitters

Global stocks rallied yesterday after cooler than expected American inflation data boosted the chances of US Federal Reserve interest rate cuts this year.

US stocks opened at record highs and Treasury yields dropped in New York trading – the moves coming after data showed US inflation fell to 3.3 per cent in May, marginally below economists' forecasts.

Wall Street's benchmark S&P 500 rose 1.1 per cent, led by rate-sensitive real estate companies, while the tech-dominated Nasdaq Composite gained 1.8 per cent.

Apple's market value surged past Microsoft's yesterday, making it the world's most valuable company, as investors warmed to the iPhone maker's push into artificial intelligence.

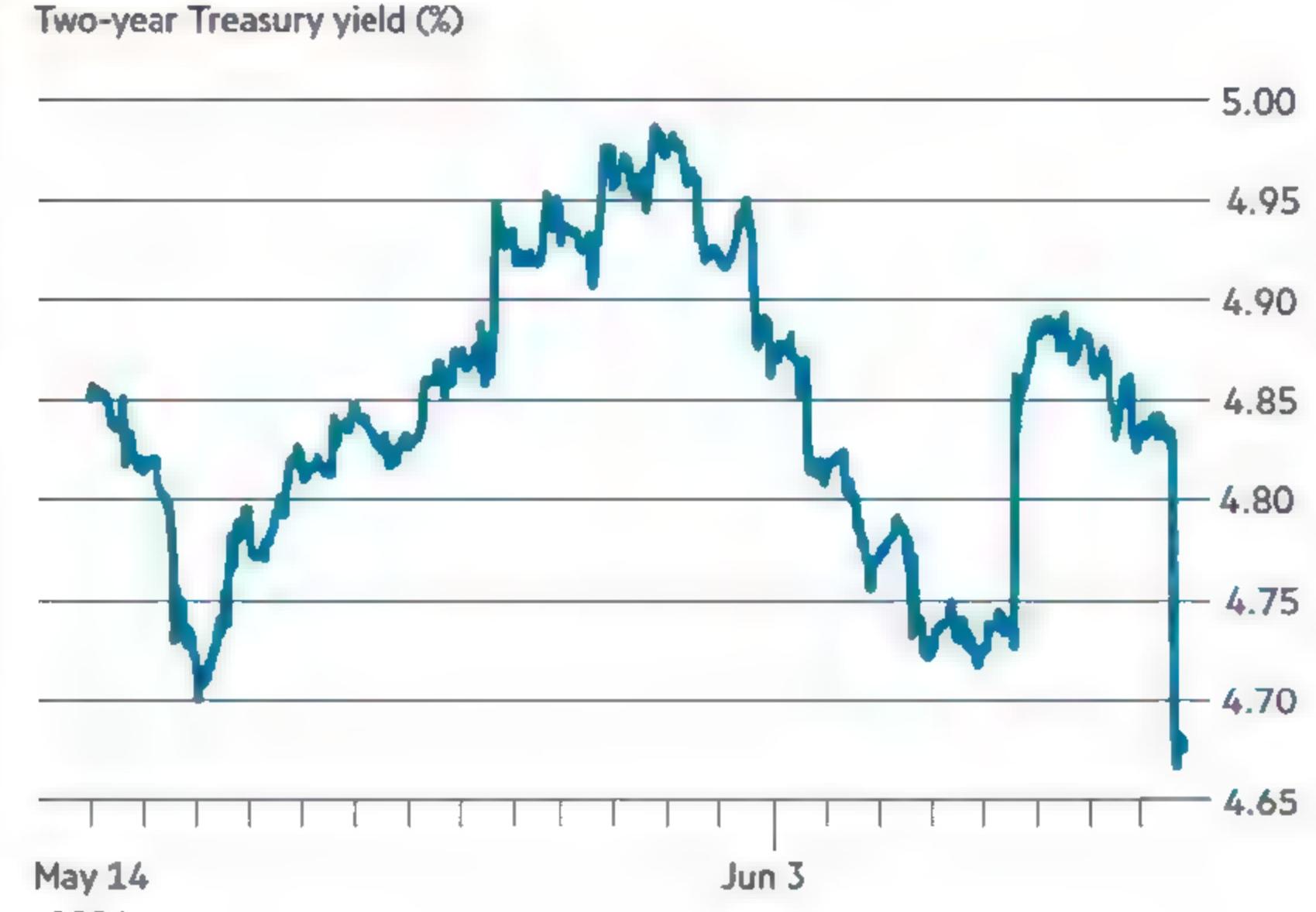
Following May's inflation data, the two-year Treasury yield, which moves with interest rate expectations, fell to its lowest level since early April, down 16 basis points to 4.68 per cent amid strong demand for the debt.

Investors are now fully pricing in two quarter-point interest rate cuts this year. Previously it had been between one and two.

"The May [inflation] report was undeniably soft" and provides further evidence that "disinflation remains on track", said Bank of America analysts in a

US government bonds rally on cooler than expected inflation data

Two-year Treasury yield (%)



Source: Bloomberg

note to clients, adding that they still expect the Fed's first rate cut to come in December.

Preston Caldwell, chief US economist for Morningstar, said "rate cuts starting by September should now be cemented as overwhelmingly likely".

Across the Atlantic, stocks closed higher, buoyed by the US inflation data.

The region-wide Stoxx Europe 600 added 1.2 per cent and Frankfurt's Xetra Dax rose 1.5 per cent.

Paris's Cac 40 index climbed 1 per cent, having dropped on Monday and Tuesday following President Emmanuel Macron's

decision to call a snap legislative election in France.

In currency markets, the euro rallied 1 per cent against the dollar to \$1.0843.

London's FTSE 100 index rose 1 per cent after figures showing UK gross domestic product was 0.7 per cent higher in the three months to April compared with the previous three-month period.

In Asia, shares of Chinese electric-vehicle companies listed in Hong Kong declined before an announcement of new EU tariffs on the nation's EV exports.

Hong Kong's benchmark Hang Seng index lost 1.3 per cent. George Steer

Markets update

	US	Eurozone	Japan	UK	China	Brazil
Stocks	S&P 500	Eurofirst 300	Nikkei 225	FTSE100	Shanghai Comp	Bovespa
Level	5436.39	2073.78	38876.71	8215.48	3037.47	120346.75
% change on day	1.14	1.03	-0.66	0.83	0.31	-1.06
Currency	\$ Index (DXY)	\$ per €	Yen per \$	\$ per £	Rmb per \$	Real per \$
Level	105.066	1.085	155.795	1.284	7.254	5.403
% change on day	-0.156	1.213	-0.979	1.023	-0.008	1.073
Govt. bonds	10-year Treasury	10-year Bund	10-year JGB	10-year Gilt	10-year bond	10-year bond
Yield	4.266	2.525	0.984	4.224	2.307	11.696
Basis point change on day	-18.430	-10.200	-2.730	-14.100	-0.100	6.400
World index, Commodity	FTSE All-World	Oil - Brent	Oil - WTI	Gold	Silver	Metals (LME)
Level	528.67	82.34	78.31	2316.50	29.25	4170.60
% change on day	1.16	0.51	0.53	0.53	-1.47	-1.45

Yesterday's close apart from Currencies = 16:00 GMT, S&P, Bovespa, All World, Oil = 17:00 GMT; Gold, Silver = London pm fix. Bond Data supplied by Tullett Prebon.

Main equity markets



Biggest movers

%	US	Eurozone	UK
Ups	Oracle 11.45	Schneider Electric 4.56	Rentokil Initial 13.73
Equifax 7.55	Heidebergcement 4.27	St. James's Place 4.92	
Builders Firstsource 7.51	Gritols 3.70	Howden Joinery 4.07	
Caesars Entertainment 5.88	Siemens 3.34	Persimmon 3.88	
Skyworks Solutions 5.79	Sap 3.24	3i 3.77	
T-mobile Us 3.53	Porsche 6.65	Legal & General -5.47	
Marathon Petroleum -3.25	Colruyt -3.28	B&M Eur Value Retail S.a. -2.41	
Valero Energy -2.73	Orange -2.63	Vodafone -1.57	
Monster Beverage -2.35	Bbva -2.54	Smurfit Kappa -1.34	
Cboe Global Markets -2.16	Bouygues -2.23	Bp -0.74	

Prices taken at 17:00 GMT
Based on the constituents of the FTSE Eurofirst 300 Eurozone

All data provided by Morningstar unless otherwise noted.

Fixed income

Argentina loses appeal in London court over \$1.5bn payment to hedge funds

Ciara Nugent — BUENOS AIRES

A London court has rejected Argentina's appeal on a ruling that left it facing a \$1.5bn payment to four hedge funds that bought its GDP-linked securities, in a blow to the cash-strapped government of libertarian President Javier Milei.

Argentina in 2013 changed the way that it calculates GDP, which it argued meant it did not need to pay interest on the euro-denominated securities — issued between 2005 and 2010 as part of a debt restructuring — which were tied to GDP growth.

Palladian Partners, HBK Master Fund, Hirsh Group and Virtual Emerald International Limited hold about 48 per cent of the securities that — like many emerging market bonds — are governed by English law.

The hedge funds brought a case against Argentina in 2019 asking to be compensated for their losses and the court ruled in their favour in 2023.

Argentina's economy is in the depths

of a severe economic crisis, with inflation close to 300 per cent, foreign exchange reserves running dangerously low and billions of dollars in payments to foreign creditors looming.

The nation's lawyers had argued that paying the hedge funds would affect its ability to service other debts and cause "harm to the people of Argentina".

Buenos Aires has faced a series of legal

'We have almost always lost these cases and continuing to appeal is throwing money away'

challenges from former investors, including several dating to the 2007-15 government of leftist president Cristina Fernández de Kirchner.

Last year, a New York court ruled that Argentina was liable to pay \$16bn to two former shareholders of state energy company YPF, which was renationalised in 2012 — the largest-ever ruling

against a sovereign in a New York court. Sebastián Maril, a director at consultancy Latam Advisors who has followed Argentina's overseas litigation closely, said the ruling was "proof that Argentina's legal strategy is not working".

He added: "We have almost always lost these cases, and continuing to appeal and delay is throwing money away and allowing interests and legal costs to build."

In April, a New York court ruled against plaintiffs in a similar case relating to Argentina's dollar-denominated GDP-linked securities, saying they had not complied with steps for bringing such a case as laid out in the bond contracts. The plaintiffs are appealing.

As a condition of its appeal, Argentina earlier this year deposited €310mn to be held in escrow pending the London court's ruling.

It is unlikely that Argentina will be able to pay the full judgment — worth €1.35bn plus interest — in the short term. Its foreign reserves, excluding liabilities, are hovering around zero.

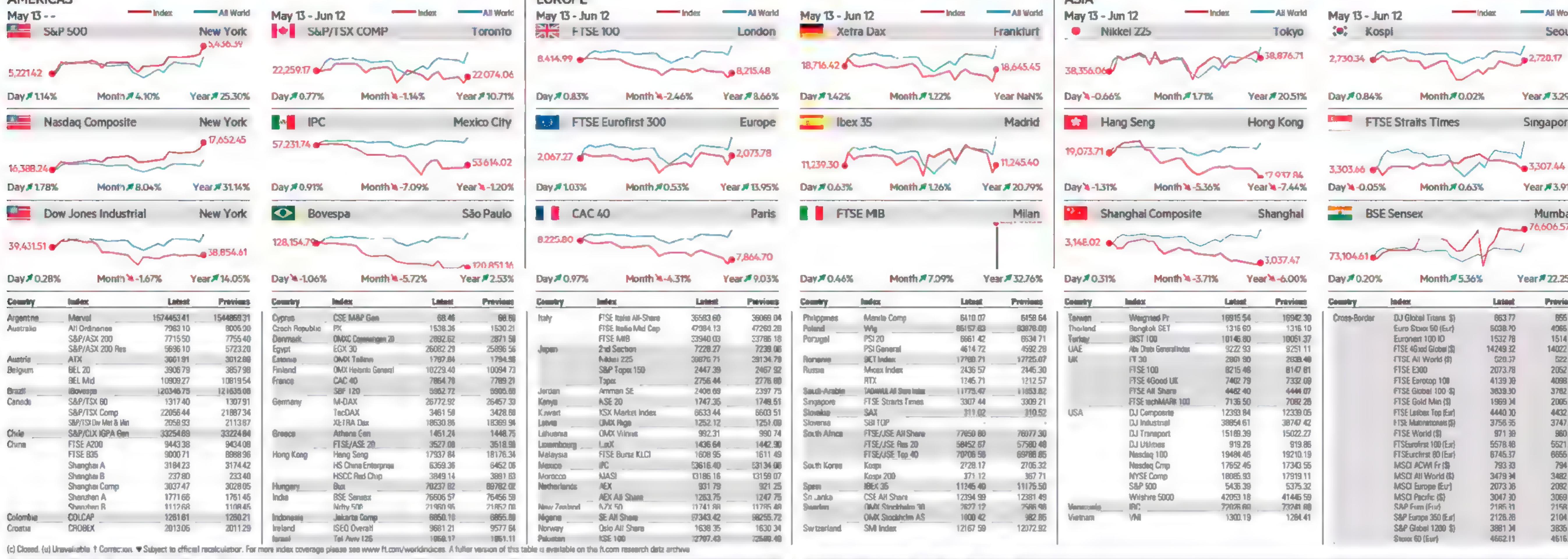
MARKET DATA

WORLD MARKETS AT A GLANCE

Change during previous day's trading (%)



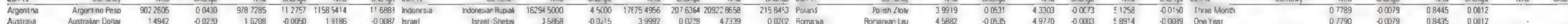
Stock Market movements over last 30 days, with the FTSE All-World in the same currency as a comparison

(Closed. (u) Unavailable. (c) Correction. (v) Subject to official recalculation. For more index coverage please see [www.ft.com/worldindices](http://ft.com/worldindices). A fuller version of this table is available on the ft.com research data archive.

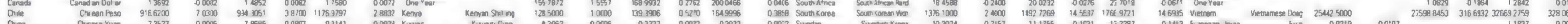
STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

(Closed. (u) Unavailable. (c) Correction. (v) Subject to official recalculation. For more index coverage please see [www.ft.com/worldindices](http://ft.com/worldindices). A fuller version of this table is available on the ft.com research data archive.

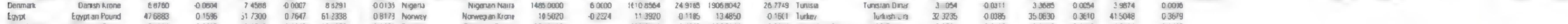
UK MARKET WINNERS & LOSERS

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STOCK MARKET: BIGGEST MOVERS

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FINANCIAL TIMES SHARE SERVICE

Main Market

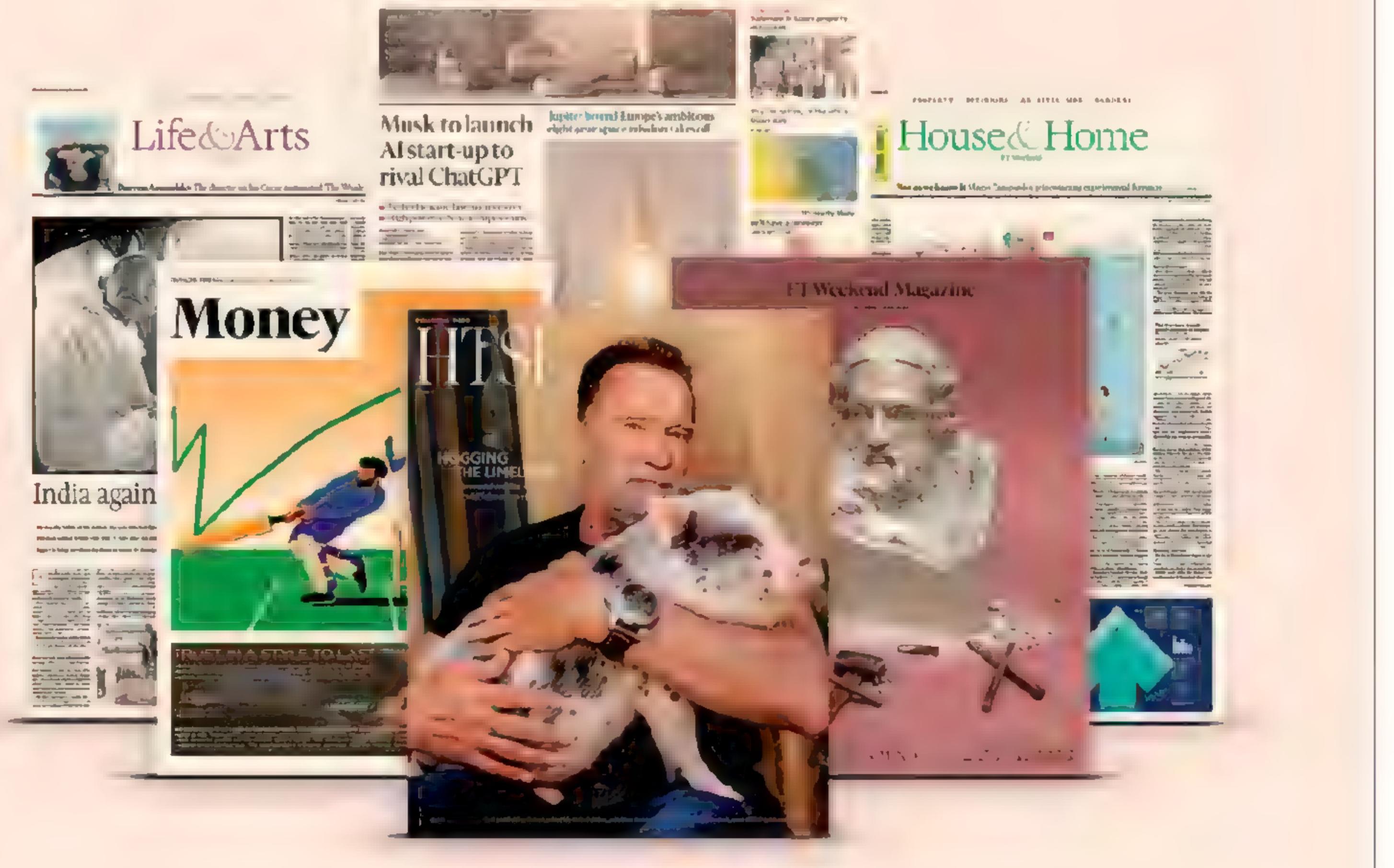
S&P 500 Stock Performance - Week 52																																								
S&P 500			S&P 500			S&P 500			S&P 500			S&P 500			S&P 500			S&P 500			S&P 500																			
Price		+/-Chg	High	Low	Yld	P/E	000s	Price		+/-Chg	High	Low	Yld	P/E	000s	Price		+/-Chg	High	Low	Yld	P/E	000s	Price		+/-Chg	High	Low	Yld	P/E	000s									
Aerospace & Defence												Automobiles & Parts												Financial General																
Avon Protection	1298	-22.08	1408	582.00	2.83	-28.92	97.1	Baillie G&P	151.05	2.90	238.00	134.60	9.67	1510.50	5225.8	Brookfield Prop	213.60	4.20	300.00	184.80	3.93	23.73	313.9	Briggs & Stratton	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247	Expedia	377.9	10.00	379.8	238.6	1.18	41.11	2753.4	
BAE Sys	1388.5	4.58	1415.25	883.40	2.02	22.59	4008.5	Caterpillar	361.00	2.00	441.00	300.00	8.72	12.49	8.1	Chemring	379.00	-2.04	412.14	258.00	1.61	28.83	577.6	Chesapeake Energy	150.00	-	250.00	129.17	24.18	-	11.88	1427	Ferguson	1822.5	57.50	1781.0	1149.0	1.44	24.05	86.2
Chemring	379.00	-2.04	412.14	258.00	1.61	28.83	577.6	Cisco Syst	452.00	5.50	589.50	273.00	14.93	4.78	217.5	Cochlear	67.50	-10	72.90	33.80	-	0.68	140.2	Cloudscape	120.00	1.50	129.17	24.18	-	11.88	1427									
Automobiles & Parts												Financial Services												Financial Services																
Ford Motor Co	12.15	0.04	15.42	9.63	5.02	12.32	19990.7	First Data	1064	5.00	1151	675.40	3.62	18.97	1531.1	FirstEnergy Corp	67.50	-10	72.90	33.80	-	0.68	140.2	Fluor	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247									
Banks												Financial Services												Financial Services																
ANZ ASX	28.78	-0.13	29.90	22.64	3.03	12.87	2854.0	FirstEnergy Corp	151.05	2.90	238.00	134.60	9.67	1510.50	5225.8	FirstEnergy Corp	213.60	4.20	300.00	184.80	3.93	23.73	313.9	FirstEnergy Corp	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247									
Bco Sant	390.50	-1.01	423.00	257.00	3.08	6.81	142.9	Fluor	361.00	2.00	441.00	300.00	8.72	12.49	8.1	Fluor	361.00	2.00	441.00	300.00	8.72	12.49	8.1	Fluor	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247									
Fluor	375.00	-0.10	351.00	264.67	2.95	4.71	52.7	GlobeIn	452.00	5.50	589.50	273.00	14.93	4.78	217.5	Fluor	67.50	-10	72.90	33.80	-	0.68	140.2	Fluor	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247									
Bank of America	9.89	0.25	10.80	7.74	2.18	6.88	157	Global Payments	1064	5.00	1151	675.40	3.62	18.97	1531.1	Global Payments	67.50	-10	72.90	33.80	-	0.68	140.2	Global Payments	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247									
Bk Nvra CS	64.94	1.23	70.40	56.20	3.70	10.29	1271.3	Goldman Sachs	361.40	6.60	372.20	273.70	1.93	5.14	525.7	Goldman Sachs	67.50	-10	72.90	33.80	-	0.68	140.2	Goldman Sachs	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247									
Barclays	208.70	-0.35	224.30	128.12	3.83	8.08	90371.8	Goldman Sachs	1064	5.00	1151	675.40	3.62	18.97	1531.1	Goldman Sachs	67.50	-10	72.90	33.80	-	0.68	140.2	Goldman Sachs	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247									
Commbank CS	67.15	1.31	89.54	47.44	5.35	9.98	1355.8	Goldman Sachs	361.40	6.60	372.20	273.70	1.93	5.14	525.7	Goldman Sachs	67.50	-10	72.90	33.80	-	0.68	140.2	Goldman Sachs	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247									
HSBC	681.80	4.29	725.20	572.90	7.14	7.42	18035.4	Goldman Sachs	1064	5.00	1151	675.40	3.62	18.97	1531.1	Goldman Sachs	67.50	-10	72.90	33.80	-	0.68	140.2	Goldman Sachs	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247									
Lloyds Banking Group	54.98	1.60	57.39	39.42	4.58	7.85	253400.6	Goldman Sachs	361.40	6.60	372.20	273.70	1.93	5.14	525.7	Goldman Sachs	67.50	-10	72.90	33.80	-	0.68	140.2	Goldman Sachs	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247									
NWFG	310.10	0.30	329.00	168.00	3.48	6.67	40882.4	Goldman Sachs	1064	5.00	1151	675.40	3.62	18.97	1531.1	Goldman Sachs	67.50	-10	72.90	33.80	-	0.68	140.2	Goldman Sachs	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247									
Perm TSB	2.35	-0.04	2.81	1.18	-	53.08	65.9	Goldman Sachs	361.40	6.60	372.20	273.70	1.93	5.14	525.7	Goldman Sachs	67.50	-10	72.90	33.80	-	0.68	140.2	Goldman Sachs	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247									
Rybk B&C CS	145.38	0.41	149.24	107.92	3.84	13.05	884.6	Goldman Sachs	1064	5.00	1151	675.40	3.62	18.97	1531.1	Goldman Sachs	67.50	-10	72.90	33.80	-	0.68	140.2	Goldman Sachs	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247									
Standards	741.80	20.60	796.00	571.00	2.98	9.38	9756.9	Goldman Sachs	1064	5.00	1151	675.40	3.62	18.97	1531.1	Goldman Sachs	67.50	-10	72.90	33.80	-	0.68	140.2	Goldman Sachs	152.00	-	275.00	146.22	10.00	15.83	247									
7.375% PI	110.00	1.25	108.43	94.50	5.70	-	860.0	Goldman Sachs	1064	5.00	1151	675.40	3.62	18.97	1531.1	Goldman Sachs	67.50	-10	72.90	33.80	-																			

Investment Companies

Conventional (Ex Private Equity)		52 Week						Dist-I
	Price	+/- Chg	High	Low	Yld	NAV	or Pm	
abrdnuksm	494.50	-1.04	510.00	366.00	2.22	559.5	-11.6	
3i Infra	327.00	-1.04	349.00	276.74	3.41	364.3	-10.3	
AbnAstralis	211.00	3.04	222.00	183.11	5.02	239.5	-12.0	
Abf Sml	1498	-4.04	1554.64	1126	2.67	1686.3	-11.3	
Abt Spt Inc	82.00	-0.54	87.50	62.00	3.10	84.3	-3.1	
abrdn Asia Focus	278.00	-1.04	289.00	240.00	2.31	333.3	-16.6	
abrdn DivInclsGwth	82.20	0.44	88.40	70.29	5.89	107.7	-23.7	
Abrnd Eqt Inc	308.00	2.04	335.00	260.00	7.66	323.4	-4.0	
Alliancet	1188	8.04	1284	978.00	2.09	1262.3	-5.9	
AllianzTech	380.00	12.04	380.00	242.68	-	420.2	-9.6	
Art Alpha	378.00	-	378.00	260.00	1.64	425.4	-11.1	
Asia Dragon	398.00	-1.04	417.44	323.00	1.66	448.2	-11.2	
Aurora Inv	249.00	-1.04	260.00	195.00	1.19	273.7	-9.0	
Avi JapOpp	131.00	2.04	134.00	103.75	1.26	135.3	-3.5	
Axiomat	85.50	-1.04	93.29	65.00	7.02	-	-	
BG Euro	98.00	1.54	101.80	75.38	1.71	116.3	-15.3	
BG Japan	720.00	-5.04	802.00	633.00	1.39	821.5	-12.4	
BG Shin	112.00	-	150.80	104.60	-	128.9	-12.5	
Balle Gfond UK	174.00	1.54	177.58	141.40	2.07	203.5	-14.5	
Bankers	112.20	1.64	117.20	91.50	2.23	127.7	-12.1	
BB Healthcare Inv	142.80	1.44	159.80	119.40	4.37	152.2	-8.3	
BiotechGth	979.00	10.04	1048	715.00	-	1061.3	-7.9	
BickRfEnts	117.00	-2.04	127.00	104.00	3.76	132.3	-11.9	
BickRfFnt	146.50	-1.54	159.90	131.32	4.05	159.3	-8.0	
BickRfGfue	627.00	5.04	653.00	457.50	1.08	572.5	-8.8	
BickRfI&G	204.00	1.04	208.00	170.00	2.58	223.3	-8.0	
BickRfSmr	1480	4.04	1520	1146	2.28	1646.2	-11.3	
BickRfSustAm	193.00	-	207.00	172.50	4.15	215.1	-10.3	
BickRfThrust	622.00	4.04	643.00	503.00	1.90	697.4	-10.8	
BickRfWld	557.00	9.04	644.00	490.00	7.18	578.1	-3.7	
Brunner	1310	5.04	1385.5	964.00	1.73	1421.3	-7.8	
Caledonie Inv	3390	80.04	3700	2693.6	1.98	5372.3	-36.9	
CanGen C\$+	37.10	0.14	38.50	32.49	2.71	52.3	-40.7	
City Lon	420.00	5.04	429.50	371.50	4.80	429.4	-2.2	
COSNetRus	192.00	-1.75	206.00	151.50	2.92	211.3	-9.4	
CTMgdI	110.00	-	121.26	98.00	3.16	115.3	2.0	
CTMgdG	254.00	-	256.80	206.00	-	259.3	-2.3	
CT Cp&I	331.00	3.04	340.00	266.58	3.66	344.5	-3.9	
CT Lk Hft B	87.50	-	89.00	75.00	8.30	97.4	-10.2	
CT Lk Hft Ord	91.00	1.54	95.50	71.00	6.05	97.1	-6.3	
Dun Inc	284.00	4.04	299.00	248.97	4.82	322.1	-11.8	
Edin Inv	729.00	9.04	746.00	612.70	3.59	805.1	-9.5	
Edin Wld	146.20	3.04	157.80	123.80	-	165.2	-11.5	
EuroAsset	91.20	0.80	92.70	73.00	8.36	103.4	-11.8	
Euro Opps	905.00	13.04	917.83	743.88	0.39	1021.4	-11.4	
F&C Inv Trust	1006	14.04	1058	825.67	1.40	1127.3	-10.8	
FidAsian	518.00	-	549.86	473.73	2.80	562.3	-7.9	
FidChSpS	216.00	-2.50	246.00	181.20	2.89	239.1	-9.7	
FidFinEmpMkt	673.00	-4.40	740.30	568.10	2.26	768.4	-12.4	
Fid Euro	400.00	5.00	412.50	311.50	1.97	420.3	-4.8	
Fid Jap	174.00	1.50	187.00	151.00	-	196.0	-11.2	
Fid Spec+	303.00	1.50	316.00	252.00	2.90	300.9	-8.4	
FinAG&J	649.00	11.00	820.00	788.71	2.24	928.5	-9.0	
GRIFF	1.25	-0.10	2.08	0.70	-	9.6	-87.0	
HAN	210.00	-6.00	230.80	173.08	1.52	376.8	-44.3	
HANA	199.50	-3.50	221.12	168.90	1.60	376.8	-47.1	
Hen Div Inc Trf	66.70	-1.50	74.60	60.60	6.60	-	-	
HenEuroF	189.00	2.00	198.00	143.19	2.30	210.1	-10.0	
HenEuro	159.50	1.50	164.50	123.52	2.38	177.0	-9.9	
HenFarEs	236.50	1.00	256.00	197.00	10.32	227.6	-3.5	
HenHigh	160.50	0.50	177.00	135.00	6.45	178.0	-9.8	
HenInt Inc	165.50	-0.25	178.00	149.45	4.58	190.1	-12.9	
Hen Opps	229.50	-6.50	238.00	163.00	3.00	249.9	-8.0	
HenSmr	869.00	10.00	802.00	629.00	2.98	999.3	-13.0	
Herald	2165	30.00	2230	1590	-	2483.4	-12.8	
HKG Intra	121.80	2.00	150.80	111.00	6.77	157.7	-27.8	
Hightridge Tactical	425.00	-	500.00	223.00	-	-	-	
Impax Env.	394.00	1.00	421.47	331.13	1.07	441.6	-10.8	
Ind IT	420.50	-	583.16	385.00	1.90	-	-	
Int Biotech	660.00	10.00	704.00	549.00	4.27	726.3	-8.1	
Int IPo	125.00	3.40	140.80	114.60	6.34	145.7	-14.2	
Inv AspTr	321.00	1.00	349.00	283.00	4.61	363.8	-11.8	
Invesco Dvid Inc	170.00	-1.50	174.50	134.50	8.78	187.0	-14	
IPST Br/BP	142.50	-	148.00	112.00	1.40	-	-	
IP UK Small	433.50	6.00	445.00	379.00	4.18	506.9	-14.5	
JPM China G&J	223.00	1.00	291.00	189.00	8.13	249.1	-10.5	
JPM EuDisc	473.50	4.00	488.50	352.88	1.90	527.3	-10.2	
JPM GEMI	132.00	0.50	142.50	115.00	4.02	150.0	-12.0	
JPM Jap Inv	528.00	-2.00	553.00	436.00	1.18	576.0	-8.7	
JPM Amer	962.00	15.00	996.00	733.84	0.75	992.4	-31	
JPM Asia	36.00	-4.1	37.80	30.93	4.26	40.1	-85	
JPM Emrg EMEA	83.00	-0.30	794.00	55.20	-	48.0	729	
JPM Emrg	103.20	0.60	109.28	96.00	1.60	117.7	-123	
JPM Euro & Inc	107.50	1.00	110.50	84.89	3.81	120.4	-107	
JPM Clsw	732.00	20.00	748.00	622.98	4.71	768.5	-47	
JPM GblCoreEq	77.00	1.60	91.20	81.40	5.38	98.3	-175	
JPM Gl Gblnce	550.00	4.00	568.00	464.50	3.22	557.7	-14	
JPM Ind	963.00	-3.00	985.00	798.00	-	118.7	-181	

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ARTS

Warmth and pain of a Deep South race drama

THEATRE

Sarah Hemming



Read the words "wedding band" on the page and you probably envisage a circle of gold, a symbol of hope and commitment. Say them aloud and you might hear "wedding banned", which has an altogether different meaning. It's into that contradiction that Alice Childress's astonishing 1962 play dives, illustrating with sharp wit and passionate anger the devastating cruelty of racist segregation in the US.

It's taken more than 60 years for *Wedding Band: A Love/Hate Story In Black and White* to reach the London stage, but it leaps into life in Monique Touko's beautifully acted production, eloquently balanced between warmth and pain. What's awful is that this drama, though set in 1918 and composed before the Civil Rights act, contains many lines that fly off the stage as if written today.

Julia is a Black seamstress in South Carolina (played superbly here by Deborah Ayorinde), who has been in love with Herman, a white baker (David Walmsley), for 10 years. Their union is a marriage in everything but name: she buys his socks for him; he bakes her special cakes. When he comes to visit, they fall easily into a teasing, bickering conversation that speaks of enduring affection. Ayorinde and Walmsley deliver all this with tender, funny intimacy.

But this is 1918 in America's Deep South; marriage is out of the question. Their relationship itself is dangerous – for them, but also for those around them. By placing them in the heart of a vividly drawn community, Childress skilfully illuminates the corrosive impact of living in a country steeped in bigotry.

Her characters are funny, flawed and authentic: a group of women getting by. They gossip, squabble, pray and laugh



together, but Childress deftly paints the countless ways that their lives are conditioned and circumscribed. Amid the warmth and affectionate comedy of the play's early exchanges, there are sharp barbs – the ease with which little Teeta's white friend, Princess, assumes superiority, fleeting references to slave masters, to the Klan, to lynchings. And when Herman falls gravely ill with flu, these simmering tensions suddenly reach boiling point.

The shift in tone is a tough one, with

David Walmsley and Deborah Ayorinde in 'Wedding Band' — Mark Senior

Wedding Band: A Love/Hate Drama in Black and White
Lyric Hammersmith, London

★★★★★

Kathy & Stella Solve a Murder!
Ambassadors Theatre, London

★★★★★

the play veering close to melodrama (Herman's hysterical sister would be more effective if more quietly poisonous), but Touko wisely offsets this by balancing the rich naturalism of the characterisation with a more expressionistic, ritualistic edge. Paul Wills's symbolic set of wooden and wired fences expands and contracts in tune with the mood and the staging ends with a gentle, communal act of redemption.

Key to Touko's production is the way the cast give weight to Childress's affectionately drawn characters: snobbish, prurient landlady Fanny (Lachele Carl); impassioned, volatile confectionary maker Mattie (Bethan Mary-Janes); Lula (Diveen Henry), riddled with anxiety for her adopted son Nelson (Patrick Martins), whose army uniform does not protect him from racist attacks. Through their back stories Childress deftly draws in other issues – class, religion, domestic violence.

At the heart is Ayorinde's scintillating Julia, whose pain, anger and determination burn off the stage. It's in her anguish – and her hope – that we most see the ugliness of a system that ties people in

knots, wrecks their simple plans for happiness and steals into their bedrooms to control who they may love and how they may die. In a world still riddled with division and prejudice, that hits home.

To June 29, lyric.co.uk

Ever since *Serial* arrived on the scene a decade ago, podcasts devoted to true crime have soared in popularity – so much so that Disney+'s *Only Murders in the Building* fabricated a comic riposte, impishly setting up the genre while creating something every bit as addictive.

Into this arena strides **Kathy & Stella Solve a Murder!**, a daff and delightful comedy musical about two social misfits from Hull whose shoestring podcast bursts into the true-crime stratosphere when murder arrives on their doorstep.

'Wedding Band' skilfully illuminates the corrosive impact of living in a society steeped in bigotry

A hit at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe in 2022, it's a show that riffs on the popularity of murder mysteries, where armchair detection can make a killing, and raises a few of the ethical complexities of entangling entertainment with real-life crime.

Shy, reclusive Kathy and bolshie, outspoken Stella – Brontë Barbe and Rebekah Hinds, both excellent – are struggling to break through from their makeshift studio in Kathy's mum's garage. But when true-crime-podcast superstar Felicia Taylor (Hannah Jane Fox) arrives in town and is promptly murdered – apparently by the killer whose case she'd solved – Kathy and Stella get sucked into a live whodunnit.

To September 14, kathyandstella.com

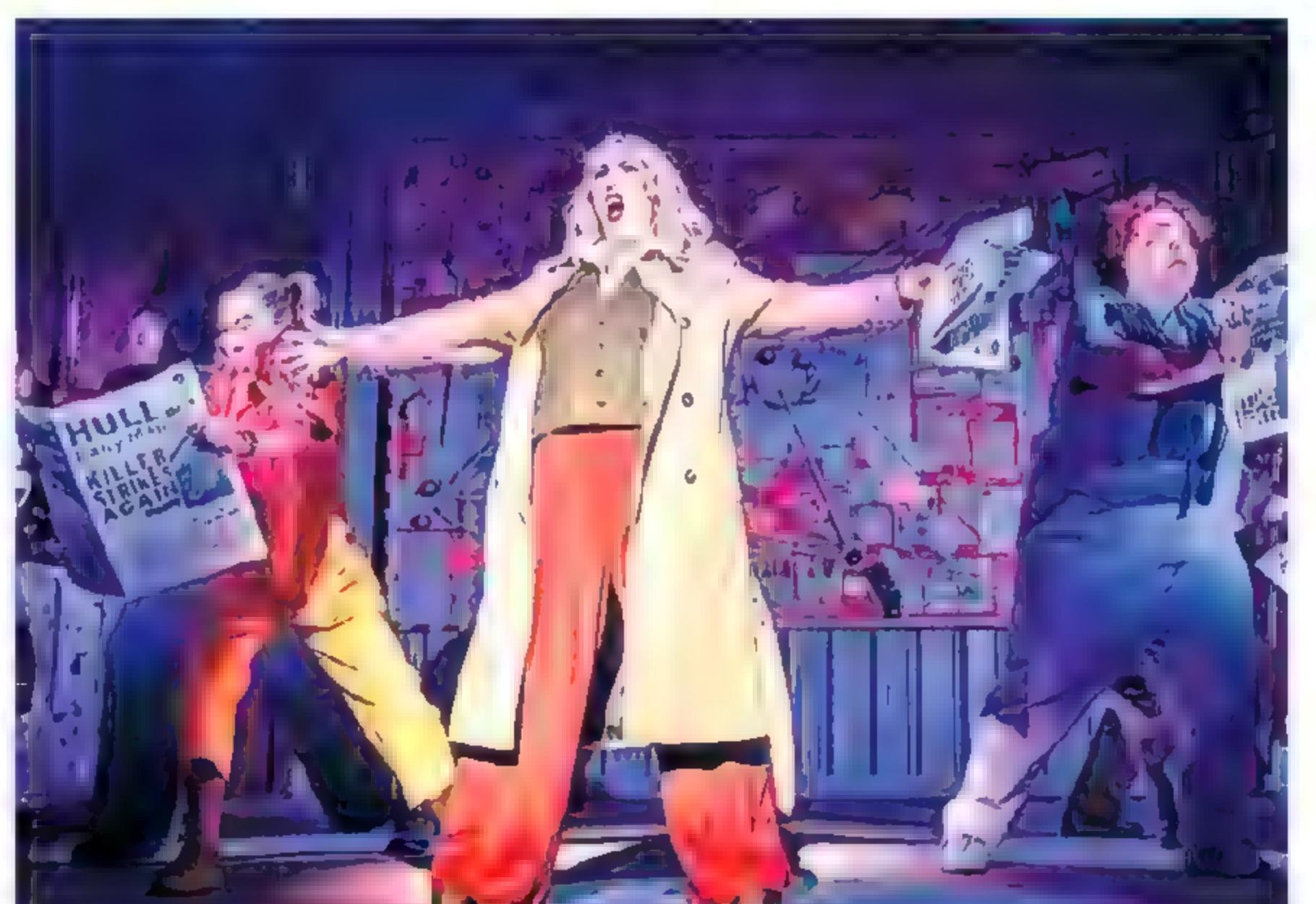
Soon they are grappling with clues, forensics and the ire of Detective Inspector Sue Shaw (Elliott Williams-N'Dure) who, in time-honoured fashion, takes a dim view of amateur sleuths mucking about in the morgue.

The whole thing is delivered with jaunty tongue-in-cheek flair, as the style ricochets from melodramatic excess to moments of pathos. Matthew Floyd Jones's songs bring a droll, down-to-earth northern twist to musical staples – power ballad, love duet, soul-searching solo – and Fabian Aloise's choreography sends the wannabe detectives spinning around the stage on their humble office chairs. Meanwhile, the script, by Jon Brittain (who co-directs with Aloise) touches on the strange appeal of murder stories – the two friends bonded as lonely schoolgirls over a shared love of gruesome crime fiction – and the lure of fame. With superstardom dangled in front of them, should Stella use her editing skills to "tweak" the evidence and move the case along?

Ironically, the show's own success has thrown up similar challenges to those faced by its protagonists. It arrives in the West End expanded from its original shorter format and has perhaps lost some of its charm in the process. It's over-amplified – to the point where lyrics become inaudible – and somewhat oversold. It feels as though it's pushing too hard when it doesn't need to; the most effective scenes are often the quietest. Meanwhile, even granted that it is deliberately quirky, the show could conduct its interrogation of issues with a bit more rigour.

At its best, however, this is still a hugely likeable, self-deprecating piece, bubbling with mischievous energy and carried by two cracking central performances. For all the slicing and dicing, this is a warm-hearted show about friendship.

To September 14, kathyandstella.com

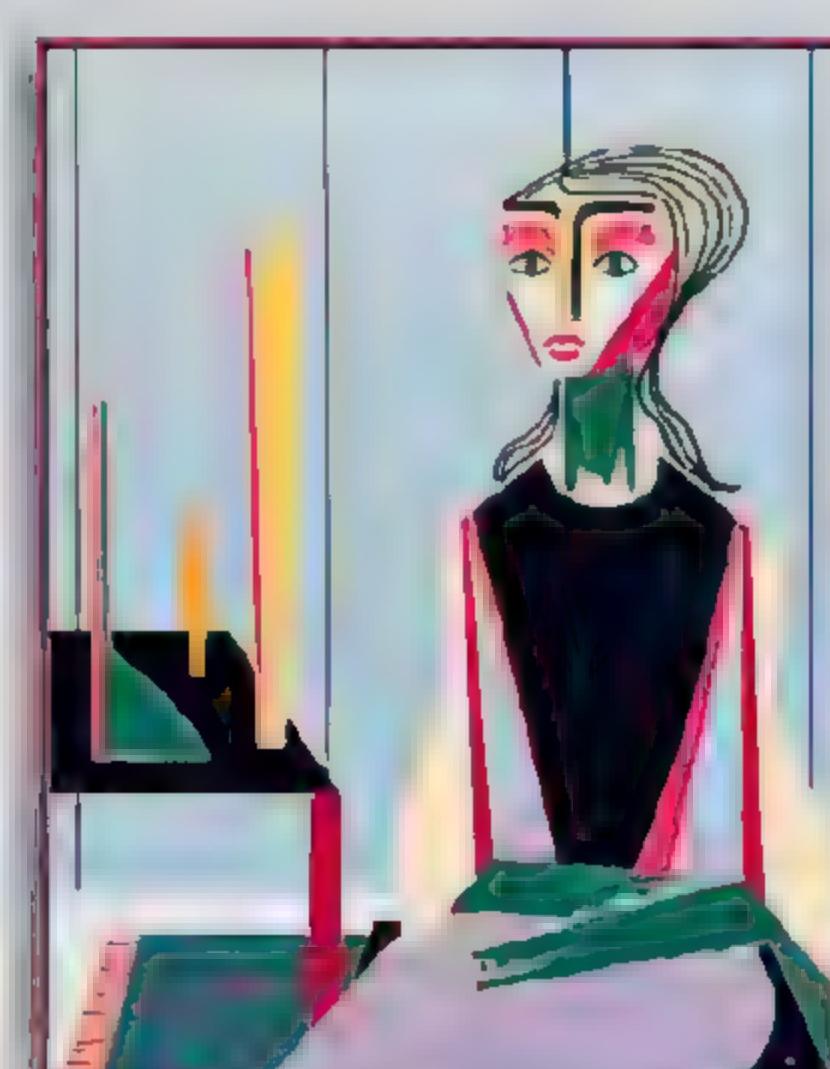


Hannah Jane Fox, centre, in 'Kathy & Stella Solve a Murder!' — Pamela Raith

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Versatile Terfel's twin triumph

OPERA

Aleko; Gianni Schicchi
Grange Park Opera, Surrey

L'incoronazione di Poppea
Grange Festival Opera, Hampshire

Alastair Macaulay

There are great opera singers – and then there is the bass-baritone Bryn Terfel. His versatility, vocal power, incisive diction and vibrant firmness of musical line have established him as a superlative interpreter of roles from Mozart's Figaro to Wagner's Wotan.

This summer, Grange Park Opera in Surrey, just outside London, is presenting a Terfel double bill. He plays the title roles of both Rachmaninov's tragic *Aleko* (1893) – rarely performed in the UK – and Puccini's comic *Gianni Schicchi* (1918); his entire physicality changes between the two. As Aleko, a jealous husband who kills his wife after discovering her infidelity, Terfel dominates the stage by stillness and by movements of hands and head. As Schicchi, a brilliant crook who is commissioned to forge a will and goes much further than anyone bargains for, the singer is restless, bending his body vividly from the waist but also energetically deploying legs and feet. He's a dangerously naughty man of the streets born for subversive clowning, with a bright-eyed cartoon face.

Both productions are modern-dress, directed by Stephen Medcalf, sharing a set by designer Jamie Vartan that is ingeniously adapted to suggest both the anarchic, nonconformist world of *Aleko* (with punks replacing the Roma people of Rachmaninov's opera) and the sophisticated Florentine world of *Schicchi*.

Ailish Tynan (soprano), Luis Gomes (tenor), Robert Winslade Anderson (bass) and Sara Fulgoni (mezzo-soprano), who also have roles in both

operas, are worthy stage companions to Terfel: singing gorgeously, acting vividly. With Gianluca Marciano conducting the BBC Concert Orchestra idiomatically, and every word registering in the intimate Grange Park opera house, this double production cannot be recommended too urgently or ardently. ★★★★★

To July 7, grangeparkopera.co.uk

Although Monteverdi's seductively unnerving history opera *L'incoronazione di Poppea* has often been staged in the UK since its rediscovery after centuries of neglect, it is never quite familiar. Indeed, as in this production at the Grange Festival in the south of England (note: not the same as Grange Park Opera), the piece seems marvellously unknowable.

Poppea is about mainly real events – the Roman emperor Nero dumps wife one, Ottavia, for wife two, Poppea, sending waves through the court – but Monteverdi and his librettist, Giovanni Francesco Busenello, frame it like a Homeric epic, with deities (Fortune, Love, Virtue) introducing and observing the human events. But *Poppea* also



Bryn Terfel in 'Aleko' at Grange Park Opera — Marc Brenner

becomes a satirical tragicomedy about ambition and power. One near-farcical subplot involves a man (Ottone) having to dress as his girlfriend (Drusilla) in order to try and assassinate his own fiancée (*Poppea*).

Nothing stops *Poppea* from marrying the monstrous Nero, and yet the opera is all circuitous suspense. Even if we know its ending – a ravishingly tender love duet of mutual absorption for Nero and *Poppea* – it arrives as a disconcerting surprise.

The admirable Grange Festival cast, conducted by David Bates, makes every role keenly individual. Anna Bonitatibus, whose voice has such presence, makes a special impact as Ottavia (Nero's ex) and Kitty Whately brings a disarming purity to *Poppea*, but Jonathan Lemalu's Seneca is the most authoritative of all. Nero, a role often given to a countertenor or mezzo-soprano, is here the light tenor Sam Furness, who plants words effortlessly. Walter Sutcliffe's production is elegantly modern-dress, with mobile phones and cocaine wittily playing their parts. ★★★★★

To June 22, thegrangefestival.co.uk

★ FT BIG READ. UK POLITICS

The Conservatives say they have created jobs, improved schools, tackled crime and empowered cities. Critics say austerity policies and chaotic decision-making have run the country into the ground.

By George Parker

In March 2023, Rishi Sunak found himself staring into a hole.

On a visit to Darlington, County Durham, he was invited by stern-faced local politicians to inspect a pothole that had been there for two years, according to residents.

The crater in a road in north-east England is an apt symbol of Britain's malaise and the UK prime minister's own electoral predicament.

After 14 years of Conservative rule, the country's roads are in a dire state. The AA motoring organisation says it was called out to 631,852 "pothole-related incidents" last year, the most in five years.

Sunak responded last autumn by announcing a £8.3bn fund to tackle the "scourge of potholes". The initiative would be partly funded, he said, by cutting Britain's biggest transport project, the over-budget HS2 high-speed rail line to the north of England.

It might seem like a clear example of a government failing to see the wood for the trees, but Sunak was making the kind of choice forced upon the leader of a country with an economy mired in low growth and stagnant productivity and a fraying public realm.

Sunak has precious little money to spend on fixing holes in the road or anything else. Britain's tax burden is at its highest level for 70 years and rising, debt is 90 per cent of GDP and rising – and so are the pressures on public services.

During their long tenure, the Conservatives have been buffeted by major external shocks such as the aftermath of the financial crash, Covid-19 and the war in Ukraine. To that, they have added the self-inflicted upheavals of Brexit and chaotic premierships of Boris Johnson and Liz Truss. Now, they seem to be running out of road. Polls put the Labour opposition 20 points ahead of Sunak's Tories.

"All you can do is talk about the past," Sunak said in tetchy exchanges with Labour leader Sir Keir Starmer in an ITV leaders' debate on June 4. "I do appreciate why he doesn't want to talk about the last 14 years," Starmer retorted. "He's ashamed."

If Starmer does move into Downing Street on July 5, what sort of country will he be inheriting? And what have the Conservatives achieved during their 14 years in power?

Sir Anthony Seldon, the historian who has chronicled the tenures of prime ministers going back to John Major, poses the question another way. A book he recently edited bears the title: *The Conservative Effect 2010-2024: 14 Wasted Years?*



post-Brexit was marked by "chaotic, doctrinal decisions", says Lord Michael Heseltine, a former Tory deputy prime minister.

May's time in office was consumed by Brexit negotiations, while her successor Johnson took office rejecting Osborne-era austerity and claiming in a 2019 Spectator interview that he had long ago concluded that "austerity was just not the right way forward for the UK". He promised a new era of open spending taps, with money gushing into hitherto neglected areas of the north. It was a "dead end of big state nationalism", says Osborne. "Taxes went up, spending went up."

Yet, along with "getting Brexit done", it was a popular message. Johnson won an 80-seat majority over a Labour party led by the far-left Jeremy Corbyn. Rudd argues that for all the criticism of post-Brexit Tory governments, they did at least keep Corbyn out of Number 10.

Johnson was swept out of office by his own ministers after it emerged he had lied about parties in Downing Street during lockdowns, among other things. Next came the chaotic 49-day premiership of Truss, remembered chiefly for the tax-slashing "mini" Budget that precipitated a meltdown in the UK government bond market and her downfall.

Sunak does not like to talk about Truss's time in Downing Street, other than to say that he warned that her £45bn of unfunded tax cuts would be an economic disaster.

But Starmer talks about it all the time. Ipsos polling for the Financial Times found that more than half of voters who think the UK economy is in a poor state blamed decisions made by Truss and her chancellor, Kwasi Kwarteng.

Dame Priti Patel, the pro-Brexit former home secretary and potential future leadership contender, argues that neither the Truss interregnum nor Britain's departure from the EU were ultimately to blame for the malaise facing Britain today.

Rather, she says, Covid and the inflationary shock caused by Russia's invasion of Ukraine were the principal causes. "It's easy to forget about the hard economic legacy we inherited," she says. "A lot has changed – the pandemic has created a new economic order, war in Ukraine has changed the fiscal outlook . . . It's a very, very difficult, changed backdrop."

Nevertheless, the constant flux has made it hard to build a defence of the party's record in office, says Lord Gavin Barwell, Downing Street chief of staff during Theresa May's premiership. "There has been a real difficulty with consistent narrative and the story you're trying to tell."

Sunak, who became prime minister in October 2022, has been grappling with this toxic political and economic legacy ever since.

He surprised many at his party conference last year by claiming he would be the "change" candidate at the next election. In a bold move, he disowned the past 30 years of failed politics, "vested interests" and empty rhetoric – almost half of them under post-2010 Tory administrations.

But no prime minister can escape their own party's legacy in power, or shrug off the outcomes of decisions taken by their predecessors. Only a couple of months later Sunak implicitly recognised the hopelessness of his "change" pitch by bringing back Cameron as his foreign secretary.

Patel acknowledges that recent political upheavals had been "the most unifying spectacle in one of the most successful political parties in the western world". Voters appear to agree; they may not have warmed to Starmer, but Tory candidates can see the writing on the wall. "You can't push water uphill," says one. "This is clearly a 'time for a change' election."

Boris Johnson believes the Conservatives now face "an existential threat": Labour looks set for a landslide and Nigel Farage's populist Reform UK party circles above what he believes will be the cairn of the Conservative party after July 4, hoping to replace the Tories as the real opposition to Labour.

Sunak, launching his party's manifesto on Tuesday, pleaded with voters to put aside the past. The economy had "turned a corner", he insisted. The time had come "to talk about the future".

But next month, voters will be casting a verdict not just on the promises politicians make about the years ahead, but on the state of the nation after 14 years of momentous and often chaotic Conservative rule.

Have the Tories wasted their 14 years in power?

Almost all serious economists now agree that George Osborne's austerity happened too quickly and was far too focused on spending cuts'

George Osborne, chancellor from 2010-16, points to the devolution of power to big city mayors outside London, pension reforms and the simplified "universal credit" benefit system pushed through by former Tory leader Iain Duncan Smith – which proved to be resilient years later, under the strains of Covid.

However, Labour has long argued that the seeds of Britain's current problems were sown during this supposedly golden era by Osborne's austerity programme: slashing spending to get the UK's deficit under control.

Torsten Bell, head of the Resolution Foundation and now a Labour election candidate, acknowledges that parts of Britain's economic stagnation, not least the pandemic, cannot be placed at the door of the Conservative government.

"But almost all serious economists now agree that George Osborne's austerity happened too quickly and was far too focused on spending cuts," he adds. "It proved economically damaging, not to mention socially and politically unsustainable."

Stuart Hodder, senior researcher at the Institute for Government, says the spending cuts "went on for so long they stored up problems for the future that we are still living with". He points to issues ranging from inadequate equipment and IT systems in hospitals to councils cutting back on social care and early years child support.

Osborne insists austerity was an inevitable response to the 2008 global financial

crash and denies his cuts were too deep or lasted too long. "There was a hung parliament, an untested coalition government," he says. "We restored confidence in the UK when a lot of countries in Europe were falling over. The Liz Truss experience a decade later showed you there was not an unlimited capacity for the UK to borrow money," he adds.

Sir Nick Clegg, the former Liberal Democrat leader who served as deputy prime minister in the coalition government, says Labour would not have done things very differently had it won in 2010. Gordon Brown, the last Labour prime minister, wanted to halve the deficit in four years, he notes, while the coalition ended up doing it in five.

"Labour have pretended for the last decade and a half that any commitment to fiscal discipline was just an act of regressive ideology," he says. Clegg argues this "rewriting of history" will make it harder for Labour to make tough choices if it wins the next election.

Clegg, now president of global affairs at social media group Meta, believes the achievements of that administration are often overlooked, not least because the Lib Dems themselves do not want to talk about a period that ended in their annihilation at the 2015 election. "The coalition government is the most forgotten government of all time," he says.

In his eyes, the outright Tory victory in that 2015 poll is when things began to go wrong. "They turned the fastest-growing economy in the G7 into one of the slowest . . . that was a direct consequence of punitive budgets in 2015 and 2016, and of course the disaster of Brexit," he says.

"The Tories shot themselves in the foot, and dragged the rest of the country down with them."

Brexit is also seen by many Conservatives as the turning point.

In early 2016, Osborne says, "the UK had full employment, its economic model was held up as an example and London was the place to go. Then we slammed into the brick wall of Brexit and . . . investment fell off a cliff."

The economic consequences of Brexit

are contested, but the Office for Budget Responsibility, the government's official forecaster, has predicted that Britain will suffer a 4 per cent cut in its potential productivity, relative to remaining in the EU, with UK import and export volumes 15 per cent lower than if Brexit had not happened.

But the political consequences of the vote were also stark. The Conservatives waged a bitter civil war over how to implement the decision, which ended up with May being ousted in 2019 and Johnson delivering the "hard Brexit" favoured by rightwingers.



Below: Rishi Sunak inspects a pothole on a visit to Darlington in 2023 with, from left, councillor Jonathan Dulston, Tory MP Peter Gibson and, right, Ben Houchen, mayor of Tees Valley

Stefan Rousseau/PA

The feuding stood in stark contrast to the first Cameron government, which despite being a coalition was remarkable for its stability, Seldon notes. Whether it was Osborne in Number 11, Theresa May at the home office, William Hague at the foreign office or Vince Cable at business, key ministers held the same job for almost the entirety of that administration, allowing time for serious policy development.

But each of the four prime ministers that followed Cameron took very different positions to their predecessor, Seldon continues, marking shifts in personnel and tone that undermined the Conservatives' own legacy.

"There was too much churn, too much prime ministerial and ministerial churn to have consistent policymaking," he says, citing the seven business secretaries in the seven years after the vote, some lasting just a few weeks in the job.

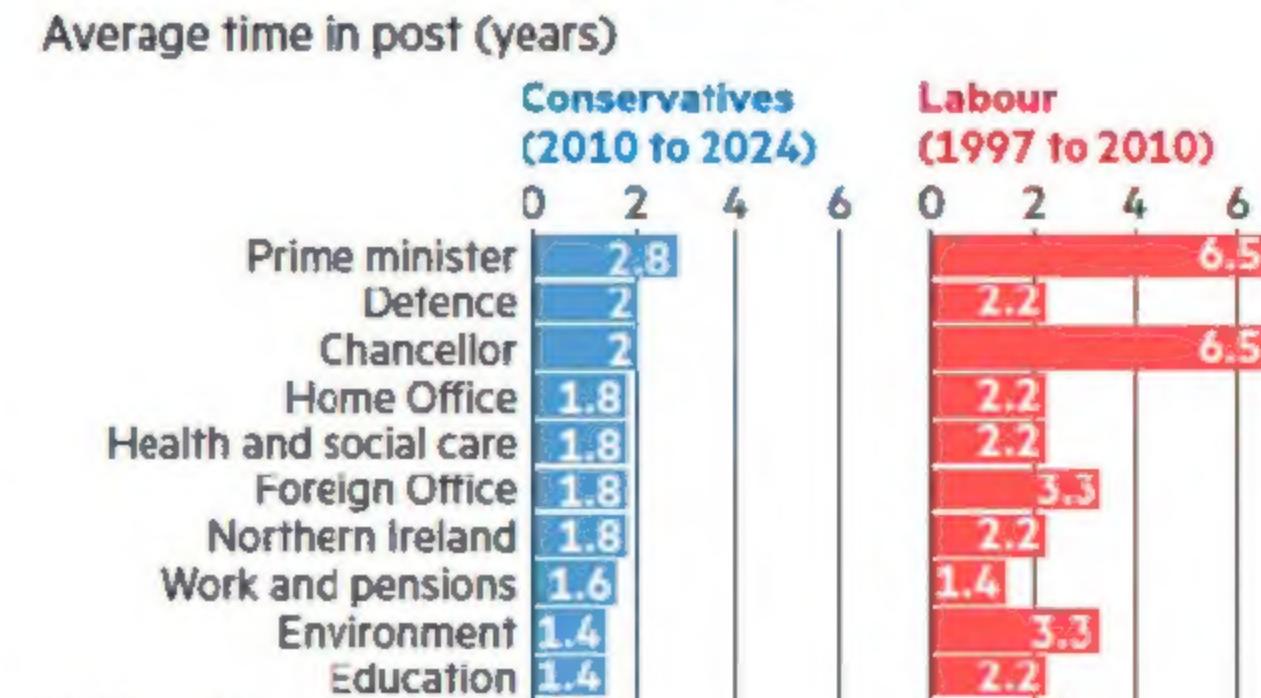
The party's approach to governing



This is the first of two articles examining the legacy of 14 years of Conservative-led government. The second, to run in Saturday's paper, will examine the challenges facing the next government

The average Conservative cabinet minister spent less than two years in post

Average time in post (years)



Some responsibilities and department names have changed over this period. The chart measures the number of changes, not people who have held a role. Departments without comparable historical data omitted.

Source: FT research

The FT View



FINANCIAL TIMES

'Without fear and without favour'

ft.com/opinion

Apple's belated AI gambit

Its promise of a personal assistant could be a turning point for the technology

AI supporters and sceptics alike have been looking for the technology's watershed moment – the development that solidifies the usefulness of large language models to businesses or consumers and finally puts some heft behind surging AI valuations. Enterprise AIs have been rolled out, but it remains unclear how the technology will lift bottom lines. Consumer applications have been experimental and limited.

To many, the most fitting consumer use would be as a personal assistant embedded in a smartphone. So it was only natural that Apple, maker of the iPhone and its "digital assistant" Siri, announced its own AI personal assistant this week. Other AI players are heading in that direction, too. Google unveiled its AI assistant Astra last month, and

OpenAI has been focused on making its model more consumer-friendly.

It is tempting to say that latecomer Apple's entry into the AI race is the long-sought turning point. The tech behemoth's large share of the smartphone market, its loyal buyers and its strong inter-device networks could make the company the logical consumer leader. Its strengths might be enough to usher in the age of AI transformation, after the current period of AI hype.

Yet Apple has long been seen as the AI laggard. Lacking a well-defined AI strategy or publicly available model of its own, the company was overtaken in stock market valuation first by rival Microsoft and in recent days by chipmaker Nvidia. And many AI aficionados balked at Tim Cook's modest computational goals for the company's AI unit Apple Intelligence, arguing that rivals Google, Microsoft, OpenAI and Amazon are better positioned thanks to larger LLM models.

But Apple's critics forget that ever

since Steve Jobs' passing, the company's strength has been implementation, not innovation. It did not invent the tablet or smartwatch, but its large consumer base and focus on sleek design brought them into vogue. And the use of a smaller model in Apple Intelligence arguably better fits the needs of consumers. Most users will not need their AI assistant to compose stories in the style of *The Arabian Nights*; they will just need it to write emails. Apple's partnership with OpenAI addresses concerns about a lack of computational power too, with users able to deploy ChatGPT to carry out more difficult tasks.

Whether this is truly a landmark moment, however, depends on the rollout. Shaky launches of Google's now defunct Bard and its more recent Gemini tools have suppressed uptake. Microsoft's spotty integration of AI into Bing has not lifted the unpopular search engine. A clumsy launch of Apple Intelligence could yet squander Apple's strong position through similar flaws,

As well as the company's large share of the smartphone market, its loyal buyers and inter-device networks could make it a logical consumer leader

and, in a severe case, could arrest the entire industry's momentum.

Privacy may also be an obstacle. Consumers are accustomed to sacrificing privacy for capability. But a tool that could operate independently with a user's data may be a step too far. Apple has suggested that it will silo all user data. But the company has no history of offering LLMs to consumers, and regulation to date has not been sufficiently focused on data transparency.

It may well be that a competitor's AI proves its viability ahead of Apple. Google's computational lead and suite of office applications could push the Android ahead of the iPhone. Or perhaps Amazon's popular Alexa will overpower Siri – making this announcement just one of many in the AI race.

Whether Apple's assistant dominates the market or not, the announcement of its AI strategy has made the company the world's most valuable once more. Maybe this time the value attached to AI will live up to the hype.

Opinion Asia

Why an 89p metro ride is an ideological battlefield

Maria Hergueta



Leo Lewis

For a basic fare equivalent to just 89p, the fabulously frequent trains of the Tokyo Metro will speed you across the city in pristine, air-conditioned and punctual splendour. Buying a ticket is a no-brainer. But what about buying a share?

The answer to this involves a much thornier ideological clash than Japan may have bargained for. The government's ambition to privatisate Tokyo Metro will require a forced declaration, in an age of activism, of both the precise investment culture that Japan wants and those whose interests listed business should be run in.

And all of it centred on trains: Japan's shiniest and most irresistible techno-fetish and the one thing that must never, ever be allowed to go wrong. Other countries will spend 2024 holding elections; Japan will

and, generally, there are profits. There are Japan-specific reasons for this. The most profitable routes subsidise the less profitable ones. The companies have been trained, through three lean years after the bubble, to become evermore efficient without sacrificing quality and (as that 89p metro ticket suggests) without being able to raise fares very much. The JR companies and other private railways derive a large portion of revenues from the retail and real estate businesses centred around the stations.

But overwhelming all this has been a strict allocation of priority. Japan's rail privatisation was, in reality, never about delivering for shareholders, but about continuing to deliver both for customers and the national interest. When British Rail was privatised in the mid-1990s, the state was selling what was a cross between a glorious historical mirage and a downtrodden punchline; Japan was privatising a system that, in a 2023 academic paper, Taku Tamaki described as an "integral component of the contemporary Japanese identity narrative".

Absolutely critical to all this has been the acquiescence of shareholders that quality trumps everything. Annual reports list priorities of safety, customer satisfaction, employee happiness and regional development on the front page; shareholders do not get a mention.

The problem facing a privatised Tokyo Metro is that a great deal has changed since the last big rail privatisation (of JR Kyushu in 2016). The Tokyo Stock Exchange is urging unprecedented focus on capital efficiency and shareholder returns; government policy is pushing for the corporate world to be more investor-friendly, activists are taking on ever-bigger targets and making demands on companies that would have been unthinkable a few years ago; Prime Minister Fumio Kishida recently declared, to a large audience of global investors, that Japan is now an "asset management nation" as the country's immense household wealth is ushered towards public markets.

The fascinating thing, now, will be the fudge. The already privatised rail companies will continue to be given the leeway they always have: no one can be seen calling for anything that would compromise the awesomeness of Japanese railways. But will that leeway be given to the newcomer? In its prospectus and its marketing, Tokyo Metro must, at least superficially, play by the new rules of shareholder primacy and the pledge to focus on returns. The Japanese government must pretend that it is all in favour of that, while actually, along with everyone else, being in favour of an 89p ticket to public transport paradise.

Japan has well over 20 private railways, which include the seven JR companies into which Japan National Railways was split when it was privatised in 1987. These networks have, in many cases, been powerful global poster children. Japan's trains are peerlessly operated and efficient, the networks live in a state of regular reinvestment

Letters

Monetary policy shouldn't cost so much money

A central bank should not conduct monetary policy in a way that costs the state enormous sums of money, unnecessarily. Chris Giles made that point when proposing that the Bank of England should cease to pay interest on all of the deposits commercial banks hold with it ("A needless banking subsidy whose time is up", Opinion, June 7).

Paying interest on those deposits was

an efficient way of influencing interest rates when the deposits were small. Quantitative easing made it inordinately expensive. By buying government bonds, the BoE generated nearly £900bn of such deposits and some £700bn are still in existence. The commercial banks were passive recipients of this cash.

There is no reason other than expediency why they should be paid

interest on it. My bank is not "taxing" me when it fails to pay interest on a current account.

But beyond the current situation, the government must ensure that another loss of £100bn or so – the estimated cost of QE – does not recur. It should refuse to indemnify losses the BoE makes on bond dealing. Using bond purchases and sales counter-cyclically is certain to cost money. Other

instruments of economic demand management are available.

On the rare occasions when demand stimulus is necessary it should be done by the co-ordination of fiscal and monetary policy, whereby the Bank determines how much of a government deficit it should finance monetarily. QT should stop and QE should never recur.

Gerald Holtham
London SW8, UK

Automation isn't a threat to jobs – just look at Flippy

While I agree with the benefits and advancements of artificial intelligence and robotic technology described in Leo Lewis's comment article ("The robots ready to get their hands on your lunch", Opinion, June 6), it's unfair to suggest that these technologies will replace jobs "two or three at a time".

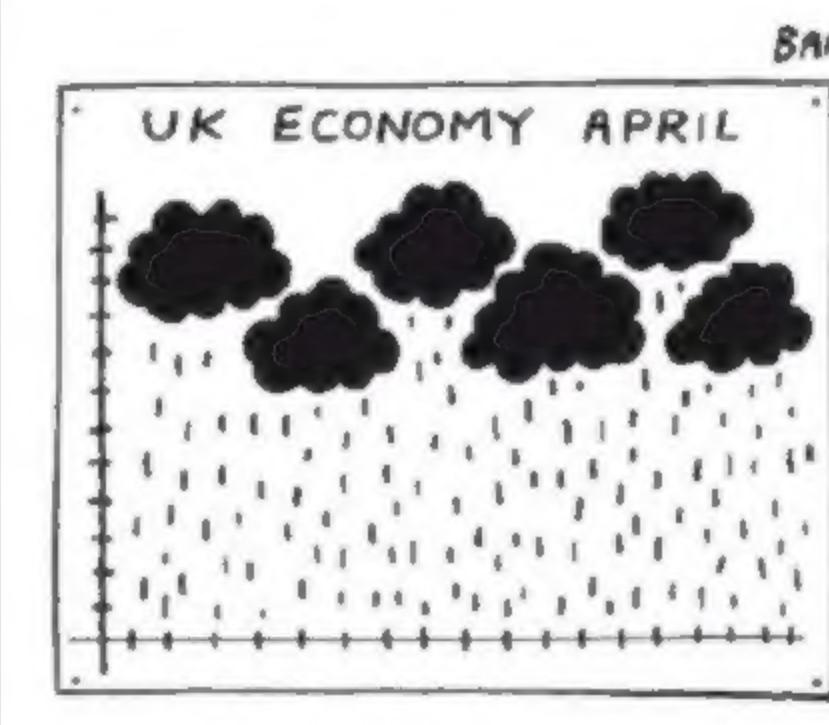
Just look at Miso Robotics' kitchen cobot Flippy, which has been trialled by big companies like CaliBurger, the fast food burger restaurant group, and by Walmart, the US hypermarket chain.

The robot assists human chefs by flipping burgers and frying chicken to enhance quality and consistency.

That's just one of the many instances where robotics and AI supports and benefits human workers in the food industry, rather than replacing them.

It's not about us working against technology but about how technology can work together with us. In fact, at Foxmire, a company which supplies automation spare parts, we would go as far as to say that companies which are slow to adopt AI and automation are at risk of falling behind.

As technology advances, we'll continue to see labour-intensive tasks become more automated, but not ones



that require nuanced decision-making.

So, instead of viewing automation as a threat, we should encourage businesses to collaborate and implement a digitalisation plan alongside their workforce to better optimise their resource, throughput and, ultimately, profits.

Tom Cash
Director, Foxmire,
Aldridge, Staffordshire, UK

Why PwC's silent lay-offs plan is likely to founder

Can somebody tell PwC it is dreaming if it thinks it can micromanage the explanation given by employees who take up its severance programme ("PwC offers template for 'silent lay-offs' to say farewell", Report, June 8).

Perhaps artificial intelligence came up with this strategy because humans know people talk to their colleagues and become close to them. But friends don't ghost each other and disappear from the workplace without dishing up the gossip on why. Those who quit will no doubt post bland nonsense on LinkedIn. PwC's explanation will blend in nicely. But work friends will not be taken in by a statement that reads: "It hasn't been an easy decision for me to reach but now that I have, I am excited about what the future holds for me and the new opportunities on the horizon". Friends know the truth.

So much better then to take an open approach and be honest with everyone. In my experience when there is a sniff of cuts there's a high risk that a "them and us" atmosphere will emerge.

Trying to gag people is a quick way to create this toxic culture.

Mary McCarthy
Dublin, Ireland

Radical solution to restore Britain's damaged politics

I read the British Social Attitudes Survey report by Sir John Curtice, senior research fellow at the National Centre for Social Research ("Damaged Politics? The impact of the 2019–2024 Parliament on political trust and confidence"), not least the finding that the highest proportion of respondents to date now question the British system for electing governments ("Public trust in political system hits record low", Report, June 12).

At the hustings in the 2019 general election I posed the question as to whether the Henley-on-Thames constituency was simply a "rotten borough", and would always return a Conservative majority.

I could not have envisaged then the potential for the string of "rotten administrations" we have endured since 2019.

So may I propose a radical solution? Following the election, we institute a "cooling off period" of say the first 100 days of the new term in office, after which we can request a recall petition to allow us, rather than suffer a full five-year term, to change our minds!

Stef Greenhalgh
Windsor, Berkshire, UK

The Tokyo transit system will find a great deal has changed since the last big rail privatisation

go for a classic late-capitalist trade-off between profitability and public service, but with national identity as the principal currency.

The issue will arise in a couple of months' time if all goes to plan. Tokyo Metro is one of the country's largest remaining non-financial businesses still entirely in state hands. Privatisation, which will involve both the central government and Tokyo metropolitan government selling parts of their stakes, has been on the finance ministry's to-do list for almost a decade since it sold Japan Post to the public in 2015. The buoyant Tokyo market, say officials and bankers, presents an unmissable opportunity for a bumper IPO and will break a bit of a drought in large-scale listings on the Tokyo exchange.

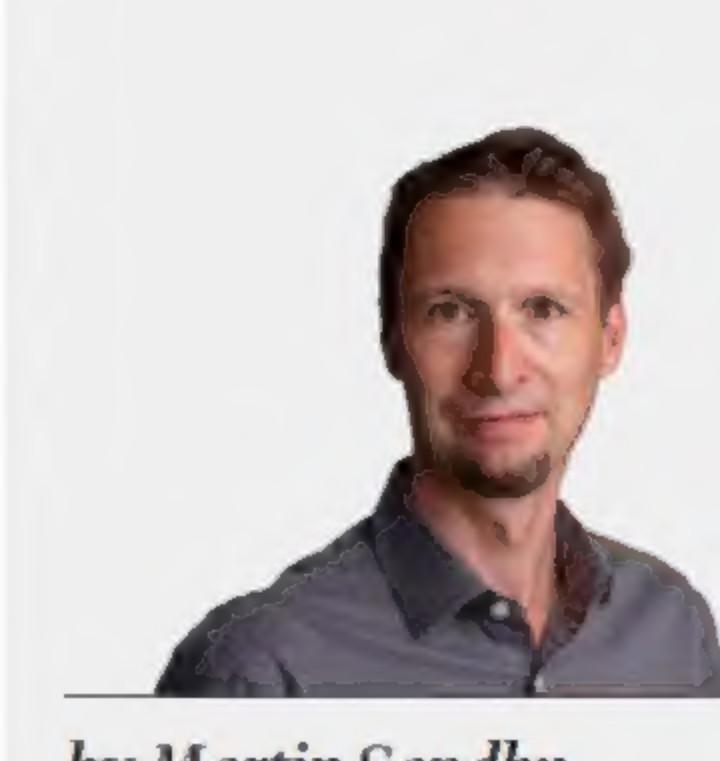
Many will see little problem with this, and many more – led by yield-hungry households – will doubtless seize the chance to buy a national treasure.

Japan has well over 20 private railways, which include the seven JR companies into which Japan National Railways was split when it was privatised in 1987. These networks have, in many cases, been powerful global poster children. Japan's trains are peerlessly operated and efficient, the networks live in a state of regular reinvestment

OUTLOOK

EUROPE

Germany, Russia and my grandmother



by Martin Sandbu

In the month since Russia launched a new offensive against Kharkiv, the second-largest city in Ukraine, and its surroundings, I have thought a lot about an earlier assault on Kharkiv, and of a young woman named Anna who experienced it.

Eighty-three years ago next week, Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union. By the autumn, its forces had reached Kharkiv. Many of its inhabitants fled eastward, away from the front. Anna did not. She missed the departure of the lorry that evacuated her family and was instead detained and sent to Germany for forced labour. There she met Daniel, a Polish man who had already spent the better part of two years in the factory where they were put to work. They were forced to work until the spring of 1945, when they made their way back to Poland on foot to restart their lives.

Anna and Daniel were my grandparents, and I think of them, too, when I contemplate the German debate over how to help Ukraine today. This cannot be understood without the deep collective reckoning Germany has undertaken with respect to its own past. That does not, I fear, always lead them to the right conclusions.

Everyone remembers Berlin's pathetic offer of helmets, when Russian tanks were about to roll towards Kyiv. Since then, Berlin has become one of the largest donors of military equipment. Even so, each time Kyiv has been granted more

powerful weapons, Germany has always needed the cover of somebody else moving first. Today, Germany is withholding two important forms of help that could change the course of the war. One is the denial of Taurus missiles. The other is a refusal to countenance the seizing of Moscow's \$300bn-plus of blocked foreign exchange reserves as a down payment on the compensation owed to Ukraine.

Other countries, too, have long said no before they said yes – to tanks, to more powerful missiles, to fighter planes. France also resists seizing Russia's state assets. They fear retaliation, and recoil at the idea of a balance of power that tilts so far against Moscow as to undermine its internal stability. These are ignoble but shared western instincts. But in Germany, something more shines through. Especially before February 2022, many Germans expressed the sense of owing Moscow a duty of redemption for their grandparents' crimes and a debt of gratitude for the Soviet army's crushing of Nazi power and its departure after reunification.

This view remains visible on the far right and left, and among some of Chancellor Olaf Scholz's Social Democrats. It may not be shared by the coalition government, but still seems to chill the chancellor's support for anything that can be construed as Germany fighting Russia. He rules out sending military personnel to Ukraine, allegedly required if Taurus missiles were given. But it is not for Germans to define what they owe their millions of past victims. That is for the victims themselves, including Anna and Daniel. On their behalf, I claim a say in what Germany owes to whom.

First, it is not pacifism. To think that because the country committed war crimes and crimes against humanity, it must forever forswear force is a terrible mistake. Second, its debt is not to Moscow and never was. It is to the individuals and peoples Germany once violated: the Jews of eastern Europe and the non-Jewish victims in those "bloodlands" of both Nazi and Stalinist terror – to a large extent Ukrainians and Belarusians. And part of what Germany owes them is defence against renewed terror and annihilation, especially by Moscow.

My grandmother only lived in Kharkiv because she had earlier had to flee her childhood home in central Ukraine. Stalin's policy of forcibly collectivising farms (including my great-grandfather's) and diverting harvest to urban workers led to famines which killed millions of Ukrainians at the start of the 1930s. This is the family history of virtually everyone with roots in the bloodlands: terror at the hands of both Berlin and Moscow. It is perverse for today's Germany to think its historical obligation involves withholding anything that can bring victory to people it victimised within living memory against a Moscow now re-enacting those crimes.

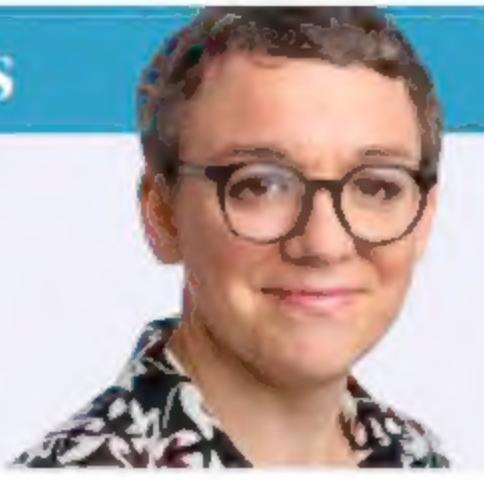
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Opinion

Dollar doomsters have got it all wrong

MARKETS

Katie Martin



countries might now look to stash their rainy day funds in other currencies.

A global effort – co-ordinated or otherwise – to demote the dollar could happen. If executed at serious scale it would remove the exorbitant privilege from the US of issuing debt on its own terms safe in the knowledge that other national authorities will lap it up. This would change the game in markets and trade. But evidence to suggest it is already happening is limited at best.

The share of global central bank reserves held in dollars has declined in recent decades. Back in 2016, the currency made up more than 65 per cent of official reserves, according to data from the IMF. By the end of 2023, that had shrunk to 58.4 per cent. The amount held in Chinese renminbi at the start of 2016 was zero. Between the end of that year and 2023 it jumped 188 per cent. But while that sounds huge, it is still just a 2.3 per cent slice of the total.

That's the argument. We've all heard it for more than two decades and we'll hear it again, now with the added spice of dark geopolitical trends; the move in 2022 to punish Russia for its full-scale invasion of Ukraine by freezing its dollar reserves held abroad means lots of

disaster. One recent post argued that the US has, like the Roman empire before it, weakened itself relative to other world powers. The dollar's central role in the global financial system is in decline as "the people in charge never seem to miss an opportunity to dismantle capitalism brick by brick".

Appetite for the renminbi, meanwhile, 'has soured'

preferences of a small group of countries – notably China, India, Russia, and Turkey – and the large increase in the quantity of reserves held by Switzerland explain most of the decline in the aggregate dollar share of reserves."

Meanwhile, central banks globally have ramped up purchases of gold, in an apparent effort to avoid the risk of sanctions, since gold is not controlled by any national authority. Yet, as the New York

Fed stresses, even after a rapid accumulation of gold in 2022 and 2023, the precious metal still accounts for a relatively modest 10 per cent of the global reserve total. Narratives about declining dollar shares and increasing roles for gold "inappropriately generalise the actions of a small group of countries", it says.

In fairness to the dollar doomsters (who tend to overlap significantly with gold enthusiasts and the crypto curious), gold holdings do appear poised to rise further. A survey of reserve managers by the Official Monetary and Financial Institutions Forum think-tank said despite record high gold prices and a taming in global inflation, for which gold is often seen as a hedge, reserve managers are keen to build up holdings of the metal.

Nothing lasts for ever. It is not impossible to imagine, in the current political climate, a deterioration in US institutional resilience that ends up posing a serious threat to the dollar's long-term standing. But it felt premature to call time on the dollar's primacy in the global financial system two decades ago and it still feels premature now.

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Whoever wins the UK election must join forces with business

Charlie Nunn

The general election is a good time to take stock and ask how businesses can help the UK economy release its full potential. As one of the UK's largest retail and commercial banks, Lloyds has been working closely with a range of partners on how to generate more investment in everything from social housing to the green transition – and what's become clear to me is the critical role business can play in partnership with government. If we are serious about delivering long-term prosperity, three critical issues should be at the top of the next government's agenda with business.

First, economic growth. We will only crack the UK growth challenge if government and business team up to unlock investment, improve productivity and address skills shortages. Modernising our national infrastructure presents a generational opportunity to show what we can achieve together.

There is huge demand for new and greener infrastructure in the UK, and it requires an estimated £40bn-£50bn in private capital every year for the next two decades. The money is available if we can create an effective planning regime, be clear about the right projects to incentivise investment in skills, and provide reliable regulatory frameworks across key sectors of the economy that reward innovation and help foster growth.

In financial services, regulation should enable banks to play their full part in lending and investing to get the economy moving, while safeguarding

There is a lot we can learn from countries that have focused on financial education

financial stability and high standards of consumer protection. Ensuring the UK remains an open, attractive destination for foreign investment will help too.

The second key issue is housing. We simply aren't building enough houses. In England alone, nearly 1.3mn households are on waiting lists for social housing. In some parts of the country, they'll be waiting for 20 years. When families struggle to find affordable, safe homes it takes a toll on their mental and physical health, wellbeing and educational outcomes.

The next government should set a 10-year national strategy and commit to the reforms needed to deliver it. Decisive action on planning – and a more realistic approach to risk that safely unlocks more financing for local government and developers alike – are potentially huge steps. The government could also help deliver more social housing by investing in developments alongside the private sector, and bringing buildings which currently lie empty back into use. We cannot afford to do nothing.

Third, we need to help those in work plan for the future and save for retirement. Pension auto-enrolment has been a significant step towards better security and peace of mind in retirement. But there is much further to go in achieving greater financial resilience for individuals and families.

There is a lot we can learn from countries that have focused on financial education, alongside encouraging better use of savings and investment products which will be needed in later life. The next government should appoint a cross-party lifetime savings commission to agree how we address the full breadth of people's financial needs for decades to come. Reform of pensions and long-term savings will not only support consumers' financial security but create a valuable new flow of capital for the UK economy.

We have enormous potential as a country. The financial services sector can help people build and achieve their ambitions. But to do that, we need the right foundations in place. The next government faces a long list of challenges, but making progress on sustainable growth, housing and financial resilience present huge opportunities for growth as well. Across the UK and in every sector and industry, businesses like ours are eager to work with any government as energetic partners in helping Britain prosper.

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Starmer will be centrism's last chance

BRITAIN

Robert Shrimpsley



lining economy and stagnant real wages have left many voters angry – unsure that traditional politics can bring the better life they demand. Mainstream parties cannot afford to keep failing them.

Labour candidates see the potency on the doorsteps of Nigel Farage's Reform UK and his would-be allies on the Conservative right. One notes: "The populist-right coalition is so clear. You can totally see what Farage or Suella Braverman are trying to do." Many argue that Brexit exhausted Britain's appetite for populism and that a realignment of the right which places Farage under the Conservative banner cannot build a winning coalition. But political choices are never made in a vacuum. Populism is never defeated, only repelled. "Keir is keenly aware of this risk," said one aide.

Starmer's honeymoon will be short, assailed from the start by the right-wing media. A large majority will also embolden his own side. One Labour veteran notes: "The real danger is not the hard left but the soft left demanding more spending or other bad ideas."

He needs to change swiftly from cautious challenger to confident premier. Some of the portents are not hopeful. His public performances remain stilted. Recent years have led to a mood that sees charisma as overrated as a political attribute. Yet politics requires storytellers who can carry voters with them, as the left's stumbling leaders, from Joe Biden to Olaf Scholz, are discovering.

This is not to diminish Starmer's achievements. In purging the Corbynite



left, and offering a party that reassures voters, he has fulfilled his key constitutional task of giving the UK an alternative it feels able to choose.

But he has joined the roll call of leaders not prepared to confront voters with hard choices. Money is tight. So many parts of the British economy and public services are underperforming that analysts doubt fiscal caution can deliver change on the scale required.

His answer is growth, rightly identified as the core challenge and the key to unlocking the money for public services. Here, Labour has limited its options, boxing itself in on immigration or the EU trade relationship. But Starmer's commitment to major planning reform to deliver housing and infrastructure could be a game-changer,

Voters need to see normal politics working for them again

helping to rebuild the UK's appeal to foreign investment.

Starmer does not necessarily need to be radical. But he must be decisive and move quickly. Never an instinctive politician, he can be excessively deliberate when making tough calls. But the tone will be set in the first weeks – a fact made harder by the timing, which sees parliament breaking for summer within weeks of the election.

An incoming prime minister must set a narrative that buys time for drawn-out reforms. Some imaginative and surprising appointments would help. He must also recognise that the next election campaign starts on July 5. So he needs to be clear about the tangible improvements, most obviously to the NHS, he needs to deliver within a first term.

His first months will be spent laying foundations and fleshing out plans. But Starmer needs one or two early initiatives that show a team springing into action. Some allies advocate emphasising change with steps to restore integrity in government but his

main focus will be on wealth creation.

One early move might be to double down on his housebuilding pledges by scrapping the so-called "hope value" premium on compulsory purchases – an estimate of the land's higher value once developed – to allow councils to buy land more cheaply. With wider planning reforms to come, this would be a clear demonstration of intent.

Many measures will not come quickly. A spending review takes time; the first Budget will not be until the autumn. But both Starmer and Rachel Reeves need to set the narrative of a rebooted Britain immediately and emphatically.

On July 5, the Labour leader is likely to stand supreme as liberal democracy's most secure leader. A confident, decisive Starmer would match the moment.

Voters need to see normal politics working for them again. He not only carries the dreams of a country demanding change but the hope of all who fear what follows if he fails.

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The appeal of an American Caesar

POLITICS

Edward Luce



with a ready-made toolkit of executive actions. The details are there in the Heritage Foundation's Project 2025 plan. It contains some libertarian strands. No 920-page document can be fully consistent. But for those with reading stamina, Project 2025 is the *War and Peace* of authoritarian planning.

A minority of Americans are fully on board with Trump's will to power. Democracy Fund surveys show that over a fifth of US voters want a "strong leader who doesn't have to bother with Congress and elections". All surveys show that the younger the American, the less likely they are to value democracy. Against expectations, Joe Biden's support among older Americans has held firm. It is among under-30s, and particularly young men, where Trump is making the largest inroads. These include Black and Hispanic voters.

My colleague John Burn-Murdoch recently laid bare the growing ideological split between young women, who are trending liberal, and young men, who are leaning conservative. This is true of America. No one has put their finger on exactly why but Trump clearly appeals

to a macho strain in various non-white communities. He can also weaponise fears among younger men of all colours that their gender is losing ground.

One theory is that young men feel particularly scarred by Covid restrictions. Much of their resentment is directed at the unions that kept millions of students online for months longer than needed (if it was necessary at all). The pettiness of many restrictions was exacerbated by

History is forged by the well-organised few and Trump has a toolkit of executive actions

how often they kept changing. Federal agencies, such as the Centers for Disease Control and the National Institutes of Health, were also to blame.

Either way, women are increasingly the winners of today's higher education system. Sixty-five per cent of Americans getting graduate degrees are now female. Since growing numbers of men

believe they are shut out by a feminised US elite, why not spin the Trumpian roulette wheel? Pro-authoritarian thinkers believe they are the true defenders of liberty. Sixty years ago, the Republican Barry Goldwater said "extremism in defence of liberty is no vice". He lost but was ahead of his time. If you are certain that you are the real victim of tyranny, it makes sense to adopt your enemy's methods. Each side comes to see an election as an all-or-nothing proposition since it could be their last shot.

That Trump, not Biden, is the one with authoritarian impulses is undeniable. His rhetoric is about retribution, mostly driven by his own legal troubles. If he wins, he will target the prosecutors who have indicted him. Biden talks about healing, even when the topic is his son. This week Hunter Biden was found guilty on three counts related to having an illegal firearm. To equate the two is preposterous. Biden says he will respect the judicial process. Trump is expected to try to pardon himself.

But politics is about figuring out what is in the minds of persuadable voters. Even were Biden still vigorous, he would

find it hard to dent the hostility so many young Americans feel towards the system he represents. He would do well to spell out the plutocratic effects of Trump's tax plans. They will not do much for struggling young men of any colour. Simple economics has to be at the core of Biden's pitch.

But he should recognise the alienation some younger Americans feel. Many of their elders have been working for years on plans to bulldoze the system. Allies of Heritage such as the Federalist Society, which chucks out judicial authoritarians like Alito, and the Claremont Institute, which champions American Caesarism, prettify their views with references to Thomas Jefferson and Friedrich Nietzsche. But their goals are not pretty.

The original Julius Caesar, and his adopted son, Augustus, used the Roman mob against patrician elites to appoint themselves dictators. The mob wanted more for themselves; the Caesars took it all. The way to defeat Caesar is to speak to those in his audience with valid complaints. A slice would be enough.

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The writer is chief executive of Lloyds Banking Group

Lex.

Rentokil needs more than a listings change to resist Peltz



Rentokil Initial specialises in ridding premises of pests. The London-listed company now has one on its shareholder register.

Activist Nelson Peltz's Trian says that it has a top-10 holding in Rentokil.

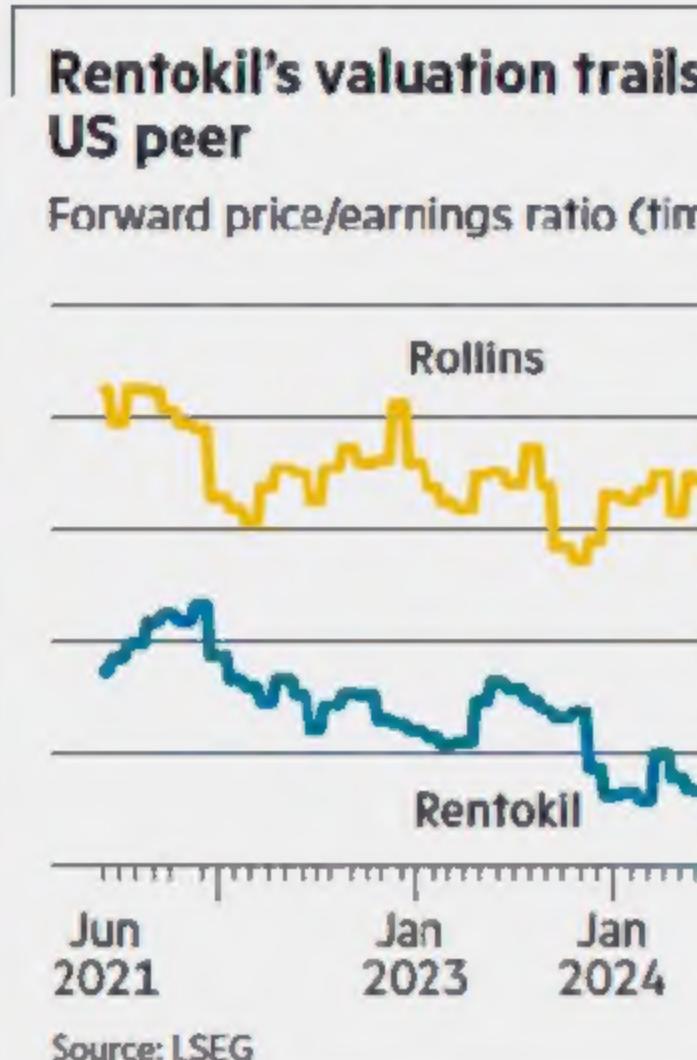
That lit a fire underneath Rentokil's otherwise soggy share price, which was up 13 per cent by late-morning trading.

That reaction reflects the impact that activists can have in equity markets, like the beleaguered and unloved UK market, that are highly sensitive to any positive catalysts. And Rentokil clearly has some problems that Peltz believes he can solve.

Top-line growth looks sluggish at under 4 per cent per year in the two years through 2025. In North America, both the world's largest market and well over half Rentokil's business, that pace should be even slower. Acquiring Terminix in the US for \$5.4bn back in 2022 gets part of the blame. While that deal meant Rentokil leapt to leadership in the US pest-control market by revenue, integration has been slow.

As a result, Rentokil's share price has underperformed badly, trailing both the broader UK market and its largest US-listed peer Rollins.

Whereas Rollins trades at a



forward price to earnings multiple around 45 times, similar to three years ago, Rentokil has only grown cheaper at 17 times.

Whether that gap has to do with Rentokil's so-so growth profile compared with Rollins or its London listing could offer a topic of discussion between Peltz and chief executive Andrew Ransom.

As Lex has noted, it is not clear that simply moving a listing makes a difference. Yet, one can see why Peltz might have questions.

He has something to work with at least. For starters, Rentokil has about 30 per cent market share in the US, followed by Rollins' one-fifth share by revenue. The former has consistently delivered organic-free cash flow, and should manage an average of £600mn annually this year and next, according to Visible Alpha consensus estimates. That easily covers the dividend. But against that financial strength sits a net debt to ebitda leverage of roughly 2.5 times, using S&P Capital IQ data.

More than a change of address is needed for Rentokil. Higher interest rates means Rentokil needs to get its debt down. At a time of sluggish revenue growth, that is a tricky proposition that could benefit from an activist's insistence on more aggressive changes.

Paramount fiasco due to its dual-class shares and a single shareholder

Our long National (Amusements) nightmare is not over. After months of complex negotiations, there appeared to be a deal in place this week for media conglomerate Paramount to be taken over by the upstart studio Skydance Media.

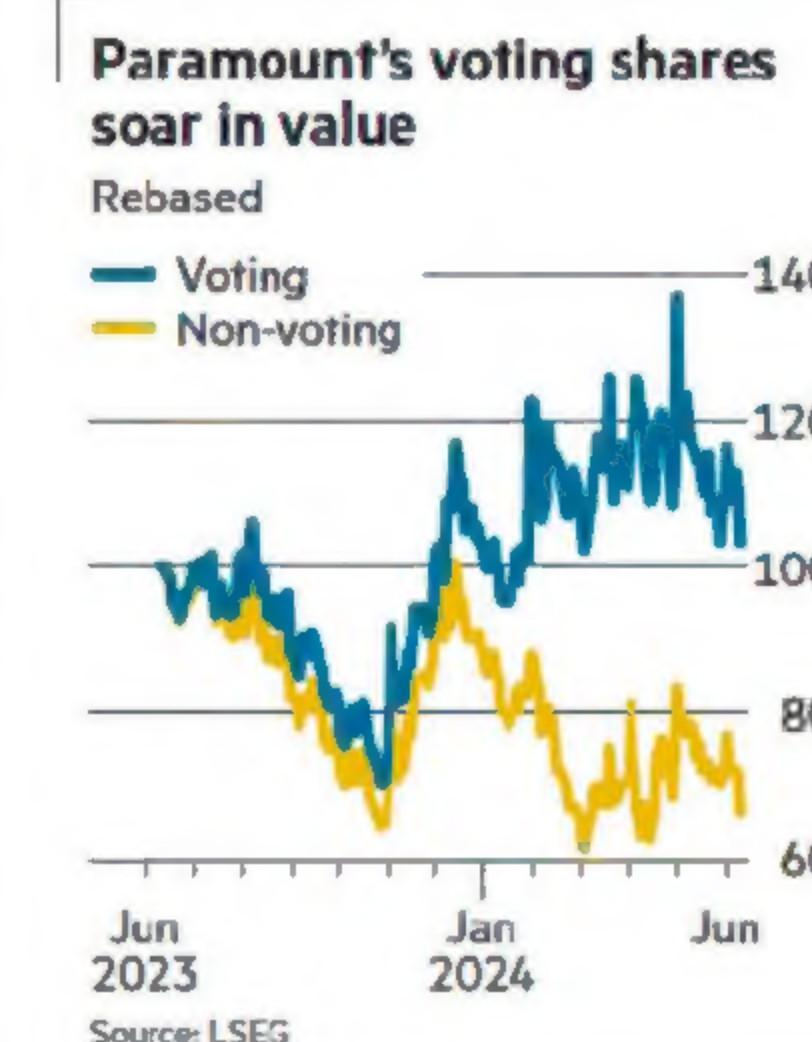
Instead, Paramount's controlling shareholder, Shari Redstone, called the whole thing off, an exasperating move for all sorts of Wall Street and Hollywood players.

Redstone's family business, National Amusements, holds a 5 per cent economic stake but a 77 per cent voting stake, which has been the rub in trying to close a deal for Paramount. The fiasco is a reminder that dual-class shares that cleave economic interests from voting interests eventually lead to ugly and perverse outcomes – generally for those at the whim of parties with the power to call the shots.

The handful of Paramount voting shares held by non-Redstone shareholders trade publicly at a 66 per cent premium to non-voting shares.

The Skydance deal first called for three sets of cash payments. The Redstone voting shares, which have a current trading value of about \$800mn, were to be bought out at something around twice that.

The stub voting shares held by others would get bought out only at around their current trading value, and half of non-voting shares would get bought out at a one-third premium but at a



The stub voting shares held by others would get bought out only at around their current trading value, and half of non-voting shares would get bought out at a one-third premium but at a

per share price well below what Redstone and even the other voting shares received.

After these contortions, the private Skydance, backed by RedBird Capital and KKR, would reverse-merge into the remaining Paramount. Ordinary shareholders would then have together received a package of cash as well as a piece of the new company.

The ownership splits, however, were not shared and just how approvals and resulting litigation would be handled were key parts of the negotiation.

The FT reported that Redstone baulked when Skydance shifted some of the cash it was offering away from Redstone to ordinary shareholders. Reconciling these diverging interests became impossible even though Redstone was still getting a windfall.

Now, two other parties – Edgar Bronfman and Steven Paul – are looking to buy only the controlling shares from Redstone, who has her own personal cash flow problems to solve. Why they would want to step into Paramount's serious strategic problems with no operating asset to offer remains unclear.

As for Paramount's ordinary shareholders, they can only feel shell-shocked and violated after a single shareholder put her interests so clearly above everyone else's at every moment.

Hey Siri, is Apple's AI strategy enough to sustain this rally?

Here's a question for your friendly digital assistant: can artificial intelligence revive iPhone sales?

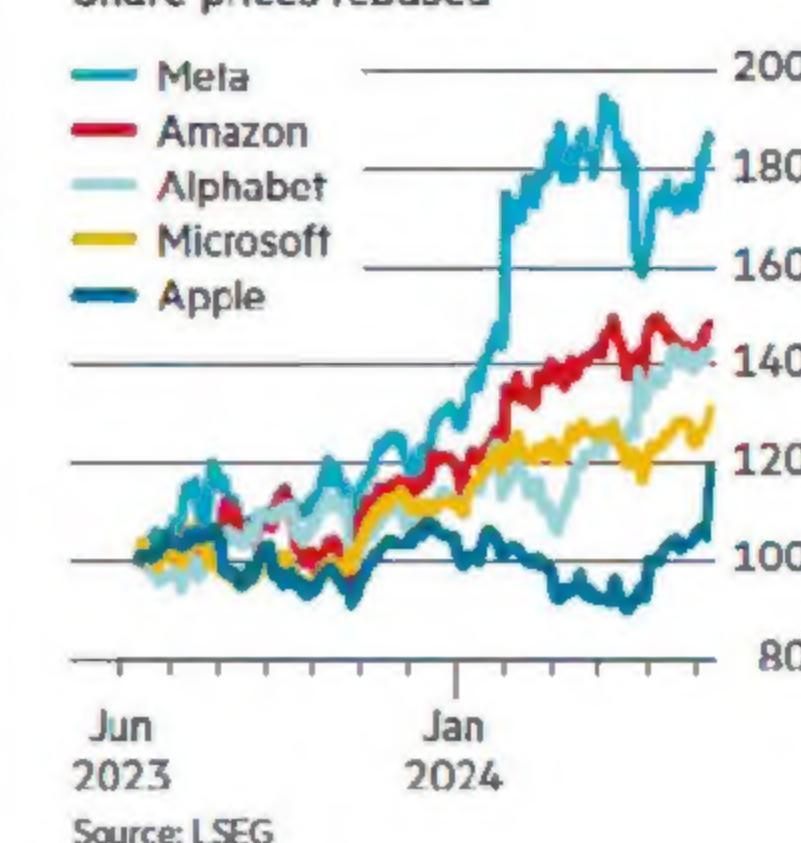
For investors, the answer is yes. Apple shares hit a new high yesterday, two days after the company revealed its long-awaited AI strategy.

The stock's 13 per cent jump since Monday's close has added more than \$370bn to Apple's market cap. At \$3.3tn that is enough to overtake Microsoft again as the world's most valuable company.

But Apple Intelligence, as Apple's AI platform is called, doesn't look groundbreaking. Some of the features that will be rolled out this autumn – automatic edits and suggestions when

Apple has lagged behind its Big Tech peers

Share prices rebased



writing emails – already exist in Google's Gmail and Microsoft products.

Only Apple's newest devices, such as the iPhone 15 Pro and the 15 Pro Max, will be able to use the new AI features. New summarisation tools, customised emojis and an AI-powered Siri could be nifty. But it is not obvious that it is enough to get consumers rushing out to upgrade their phones.

The iPhone is Apple's biggest moneymaker, accounting for more than half of the \$383bn in total revenue it pulled in last year. But sales of the device have slowed. They fell 10 per cent year on year for the fiscal second quarter that ended in March. That follows a 2.4 per cent decline for the fiscal 2023 year.

The issue is that in the US, Apple's biggest market by revenue, inflation-pinched consumers are keeping their devices longer. In China, AI will do little to reverse a state crackdown on the use of its devices by government employees. Rising tensions with the US have also boosted domestic brands such as Huawei.

Consumers' appetite to have AI embedded in their lives is untested.

Apple, with its dedicated base of users and vast share of their attention, has advantages in this regard. Apple's characteristic determination to maintain control with its own chips and models will prompt questions about spending, and the impact of AI plans on margins, if a new phone sales supercycle does not take off quickly.

Still, Apple had underperformed its Big Tech peers on a lack of any AI information at all. After two years of silence, the market is probably relieved that Apple has jumped into the AI race.

Javier Espinoza

Microsoft faces more antitrust heat as it embraces AI revolution

INSIDE BUSINESS

UK neobank Starling has tricky path to chart to securing a tech listing

In fintech, the rising tide of interest rates could lift everyone closer to their IPO. Starling Bank was the first of the UK neobanks to make a profit three years ago and continued the form at results yesterday.

Profits before tax were £301mn in the year to March and up by a half compared with the year before. Net interest income rose 70 per cent.

This makes Starling the likeliest of the crop to test public investors' appetite for a digital neobank. Raman Bhatia must first take over as chief executive later this month. But with Starling already hyping up the first sales in its banking software as a service business, called Engine, the countdown is under way.

The big problem for neobanks and early investors looking to cash out is the equities markets' unfavourable view of European banks since the financial crisis. That is slowly changing, especially this year as banks return larger amounts of cash to shareholders.

But with big UK banks trading on about eight times forward earnings, a similar rating would value Starling well below the £2.5bn valuation it commanded at its last private funding round in 2022.

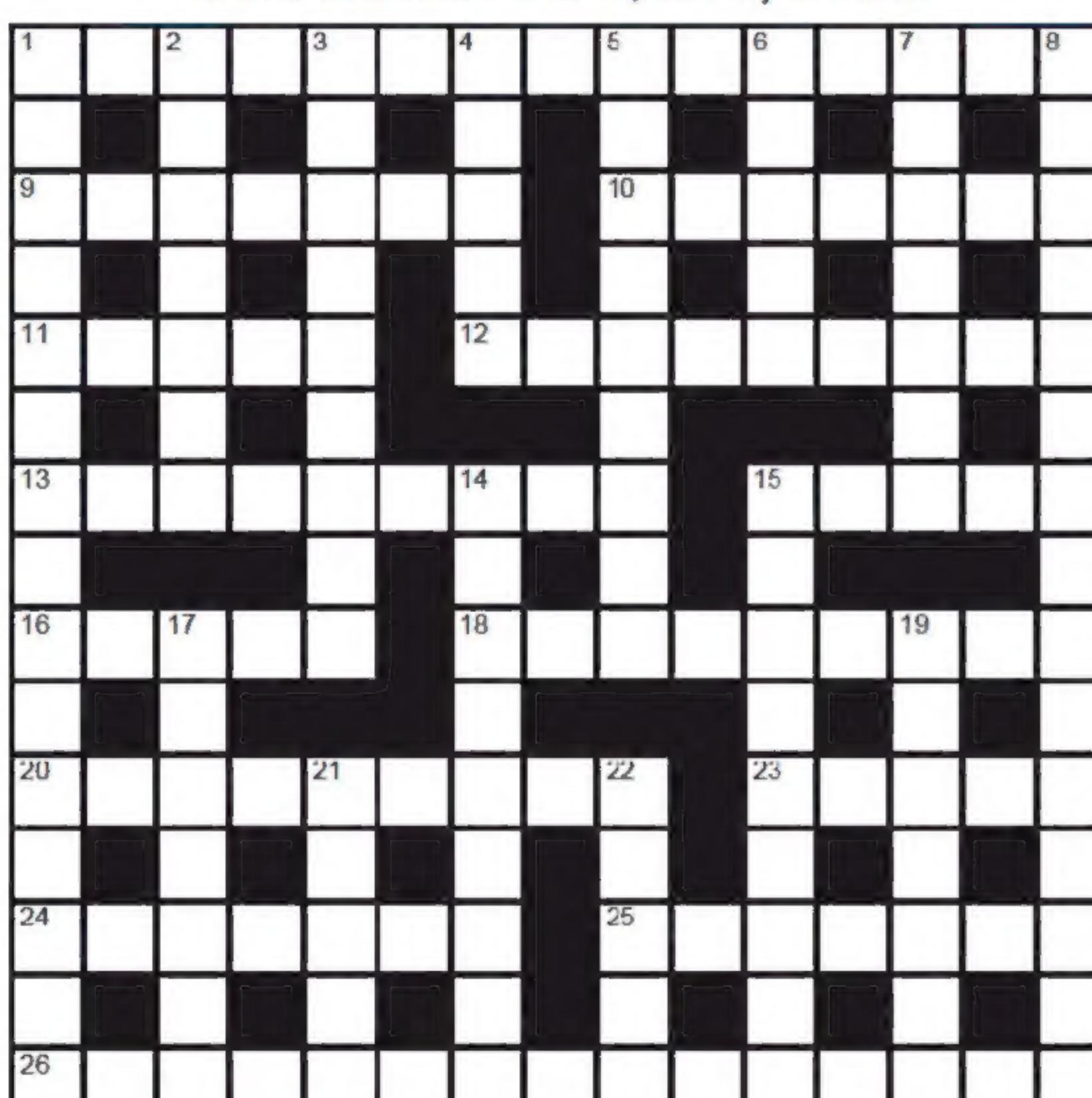
A sprinkling of technology would help but it is early days. Engine has just two customers. Starling's non-staff unit running costs halved between 2022 and 2024, suggesting marginal technology costs are near zero. The bank's cost-to-income ratio of 51 per cent is below those of Lloyds and NatWest. Neobank peer Monzo had a cost-to-income ratio of 57 per cent last year.

Brazil's Nubank, listed in New York and worth \$45bn, shows the potential power of technology on overheads. Its cost-to-income ratio was 32 per cent in the first quarter of the year. A punchy valuation of 24 times forward earnings is the kind Starling and others would like to achieve. That is possible for a UK fintech but remains a bold pitch.

High-margin recurring revenues from software sales would help. Such talk, however, is reminiscent of some ill-fated ecommerce IPOs promising great tech platforms in the last IPO round; investors should be wary.

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Solution 17,760

JOTTER PAD

HALF NELSON CODA
ULS TIOOI
IDEA TRANSGRESS
IRI NHUS
STREAM DOORSTEP
O A OWCN
FRIGHTEN ANTII
OE EST
OSLO SOUVENIR
NFD GCGM
RATIFIER GRAPPA
FNS SOEPE
AFTERHOURS HART
IS FNTII
NEWS SIDESADDLE



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ACROSS

- 1 Redhead's son went out, being very glum (15)
 - 9 Doctor on-line with appeal bathed in glow (7)
 - 10 Rent trouble, quite a blow (7)
 - 11 Not a soul at end of performance after midday (2,3)
 - 12 Medicare provision originally organised — it's now or never (5,4)
 - 13 Cacti with seas swimming in waters off Southern Ireland (6,3)
 - 15 Chinese bear on patrol? (5)
 - 16 Some soulful tragic radical (5)
 - 18 He made assertion about independence held back (9)
 - 20 The Merchant of Venice, maybe (5,4)
 - 23 Believer in some faith in Dubai (5)
 - 24 I repeatedly snore — sadly making more din (7)
 - 25 Weapon from dump or depot (7)
 - 26 Attire for the Lido with roughly two GCSEs, minimum (8,7)
- DOWN**
- 1 Party dress maiden and smug C-in-C re-designed for advisor (7,8)
 - 2 Protective finish for court and rebuilt lido (4,3)
 - 3 Face of awfully evil cheat (9)
 - 4 Lark averse to cold (5)
 - 5 Instructive sessions spilled out into tests (9)
 - 6 Last to sing during calamitous lament (5)
 - 7 Euphoria when family member runs away (7)
 - 8 Appeal by Wall's when cycling: 'O spend money! A tub!' (4,2,3,3,3)
 - 14 Parents' daily trip around lunch or so. Not usually! (6,3)
 - 15 Lots and lots of sheep and broken pieces of pottery (9)
 - 17 Weeks at school in one or more stations (7)
 - 19 Large quantity of gold in rear of coupe (7)
 - 21 Bad feeling when leader's removed from platform (5)
 - 22 Hiding power of the ear and eye (5)*



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